This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

PURCHASED FROM THE

OSSIAN FUND

PRESENTED BY

F. H.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

PURCHASED FROM THE

OSSIAN FUND

PRESENTED BY

F. H.

Gift
QC 5

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

PURCHASED FROM THE

OSSIAN FUND

PRESENTED BY

F. H.

Grant
GPC

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

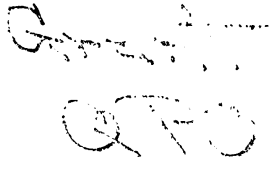
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

PURCHASED FROM THE

OSSIAN FUND

PRESENTED BY

F. H.



THOUGHTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND DESCENT

OF THE

GAEL.

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

THOUGHTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND DESCENT

OF THE

GAEL:

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PICTS, CALEDONIANS, AND SCOTS;

AND

OBSERVATIONS

RELATIVE TO THE AUTHENTICITY

OF THE

POEMS OF OSSIAN.

By JAMES GRANT, Esq. Advocate.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY WALKER AND GREIG;

FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;

LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, LONDON;

AND

JOHN YOUNG AND CO. INVERNESS.

1814.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

114555A

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

THE

FOLLOWING SHEETS

ARE DEDICATED

TO THE

GAEL OF ALBIN

AND

OF ERIN,

WITH PROFOUND RESPECT,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION,	*Page* 1
The Gael, whence sprung,	9
Original Condition of Man,	32
Ratis, Scapha, Navis,	66
Marriage,	72
Rota, Cuneus,	79
Arithmetic,	82
Paper, Carta,	110
Carmen, Cantus,	133
Ulna, Cubitus,	135
Multa, Pœna,	141
The ancient Britons were Gael, and descended from the Gauls,	152
Proof of Identity,	182
Identity of people inferred from the use of warlike weapons,	201
Albion,	259
Picts, Caledonians, Scots,	266
Observations respecting the authenticity of the Poems of Ossian,	379

THOUGHTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND DESCENT

OF THE

GAEL.

INTRODUCTION.

WHOEVER is desirous of acquiring knowledge of the state and condition of mankind, as they now exist, under various appearances and circumstances, on the face of the earth, may be amply gratified by consulting those extensive sources of information, which the intercourse of modern civilized nations with the inhabitants of this globe, in all its regions, has laid open to the eye of curiosity. The observations and researches of modern travellers, of different talents and descriptions, have increased our intelligence of the nature and properties of our species. They have exhibited to view manners and customs so much diversified, modes of living, habits and rules of conduct, sentiments and opinions, apparently so adverse and inconsistent, as may

mired which can ill accord with a gentle, a delicate, and amiable civility. Mankind, however, in all similar stages of society, discover similar modes of thinking; manners assume more pleasing forms, in proportion to the extent of our knowledge of the properties of our species, and of our advancement in the exercise of the benignant qualities of our nature.

Attachment to ancient customs forms an universal trait in the human character. Some nations, however, have shewn themselves to be more tenacious of their customs than others, who depart from them with more facility, more readily bending to the convenience of their situation and circumstances in society. Tenaciousness of customs and opinions may be perhaps much ascribed to restraints, both religious and civil, thwarting the general intercourse and freedom of action among mankind, which tend to an universal assimilation of manners and modes of thinking.

It may be remarked, that attachment to usages is most powerful in dark ages; yet modern experience, and the history of certain nations, furnish us with proofs of attachment to ancient opinions and usages, which learning, science, and advancement in arts, might naturally be presumed to have the effect of utterly extinguishing.

Religion among mankind is universally calculated to impress upon the mind a sense of an

overruling Providence, disposed to punish bad actions or guilt, and to reward good actions or virtue. The similarity of the modes of appeasing the wrath of angry deities, or conciliating their favour, as practised by different nations, is remarkable. Religious penance was carried to a wonderful extent in the western nations of Europe, as in the eastern nations of Asia. The immolation of human beings to appease the wrath of offended deities, was practised in nations far removed from each other. In Africa, multitudes of human victims are sacrificed by the kings to the *Manes* of their ancestors. The gentle Hindoos, learned and improved in arts and sciences for ages far removed beyond our knowledge, inflict from pious motives the most severe self-torments and castigations. Among them it is still deemed a religious duty, highly meritorious, for a wife to devote herself to death on the funeral pile of her husband. There is reason to believe, that in all nations religious customs have prevailed, which, to minds enlightened by the true religion, must appear inhuman and impious. The causes which operate such direful effects, in opposition to the feelings of nature and humanity, must be referred to the darkness of superstitious ages, affording ample scope to the mystic policy of the teachers of religious doctrines, to rivet to the minds of men impressions of veneration, awe, and terror, which the rays of light emanating from a few philosophic lumi-

naries of truth, are too feeble to counteract or dispel from the imaginations of the ignorant multitude. The triumphs of truth over error are reserved for those eras of the world, when, by means of inventions, whether ascribable to propitious casualty or to the ingenious contrivances of the human mind, knowledge is rendered of easy acquisition, and, when aided by a free communication of sentiments, becomes universally diffused, and produces necessarily a total revolution in the opinions of mankind, who thenceforward are to be guided, not by their former prejudices, prepossessions, and the arts of mystical persuasion, whether political or religious, but by regulations of tangible and palpable good, and by a train of policy plainly and obviously consistent with the interest of the individuals composing the great whole. In proportion as knowledge prevails, it will, without the exception of races of men, operate the releasement of the mind from the thraldom of assumed authority, and prove to the rulers of the world, that universally mankind perceiving the rights of nature, and arrived at a just conception of the genuine basis of the fabric of political society, will feel indignant against the abettors of systems founded on prejudices and errors, inculcated by artifices practised, in the ages of blind superstition, upon the ignorance and weakness of deluded minds.

How much soever the human race may seem to be diversified by manners and customs, opinions

and sentiments, shape and size of body, colour, complexion, or tinge of skin, the organization of the human frame, in all the regions of the earth, proves an uniformity of species, which excludes not the possibility of the whole human race being descended from one original pair.

To trace the descent of nations is a subject of curiosity. To point out facts tending to prove an original relation and affinity between nations far removed by local situation from each other, may be deemed an object not unworthy of the attention of the lovers of science.

The great principles of the system of the universe have occupied the minds of scientific and learned men in all ages of civilization: The amelioration of the condition of human life has ever been made the object of the contemplation and study of philanthropists: The exercise of acts of benevolence ever distinguishes the friends of humanity. These principles have been happily developed with a considerable degree of success. The horrible superstitions and destructive prejudices of mankind, which, in all quarters of the globe, bear similar features in times of rudeness and ignorance, confounded and abashed, have, among a certain portion of the human race, yielded their tyrannical supremacy to the legitimate offspring of philosophy, and of that religion, which, divested of all delusion, pomp, and deceitful magnificence, professes mental purity, meekness, mutual forbearance, and universal charity.

The nature of the human mind has been successfully unfolded, and certain maxims respecting the moral and physical world have been received with satisfaction, by enlightened minds. By collation of evidence truth is daily ascertained, and knowledge of truth is disseminated by recent discoveries and inventions, which, if we may judge from the effects they have already produced, will, within the compass of not far distant periods, add to the store of rational conviction, and establish upon the most firm and solid basis, truths the most important to the felicity of mankind. The reign of falsehood and prejudice will be gradually overturned, the progress of knowledge in arts, sciences and institutions, civil, political, and religious, will unfetter the general mind, and enable the human race to perceive more clearly, the folly and pernicious tendency of hostilities, and dispose them more and more to acknowledge the utility and wisdom of brotherly love.

The Gael, whence sprung.

Leaving these general considerations to the contemplation of enlightened minds, let us turn our eyes to the ancient Britons, and inquire who they were, and whence they sprung. Were they aborigines of the British soil, or did they migrate from some other parts of the earth already replete with inhabitants?

The answer to these questions leads back far beyond the existence of any historical monuments relative to the inhabitants of the British islands. It may therefore be deemed too high presumption to attempt to throw any degree of satisfactory light upon an object so much involved in the darkness of remote antiquity. It becomes us then to solicit the indulgence of the learned, when we submit to the public eye those matters of evidence which have occurred, respecting the origin, the descent, and the generic appellation of the most ancient inhabitants of the British islands, as well as of a great portion of the inhabitants of the European quarter of the globe. It is universally admitted to be a difficult task to trace the origin of nations. "The regions of "antiquity," says a learned author, "are inhabit-"ed by phantoms and strange forms. Nations,

" like individuals, are proud of their genealogy. " It is with bodies of people as with individual " persons; they are ignorant of their own births " and infancies, or if they do know any thing of " their originals, they are beholden to the acci- " dental records that others have kept of it."

Prior to the invention of written characters, by which intelligence of historical facts may be faithfully recorded, oral tradition was the vehicle of knowledge; a mode of information which was liable to be disguised by the embellishments of fancy, the effusions of the warm imaginations of poets, by the vanity of descent from an illustrious ancestry, and by a variety of prejudices, which, in the first ages, influence the human mind, and produce those traditionary fables, in which the earliest accounts of nations, as given by themselves, are universally found to be involved.

When we take even a superficial view of the surface of the globe which we inhabit, we evidently perceive, that, at some unknown remote periods, various revolutions have happened, which not only affected materially the superficial structure of the earth, but the state and condition of the animals who lived on it, and derived their nourishment from its elements.

The boasted pre-eminence of our species over all other animals, in arts of ingenious contrivance, in mental capacities, which elevate our hopes beyond terrestrial enjoyments, in abilities of recog-

nizing the wisdom of the great Author of nature in the works of creation, may lead us to form high pretensions as to the extent of our powers and faculties, and to conceive proud and arrogant opinions respecting our acquaintance with the formation and structure of this mass of matter, over which we have denominated ourselves lords and masters; but so inadequate is our penetration of causes, so weak our discernment of effects, so limited is the scope of our understanding, so circumscribed is the circle of our knowledge, that we must confess with regret and mortification, that the utmost labours and researches of minds the most enlightened in science and philosophy, have still left us to wander in the wide fields of uncertainty and conjecture, without pointing to any path in which we can tread without danger, or to any light by which we can guide our steps with safety, toward a satisfactory knowledge of the causes which led to the earth's formation, of those which produced its revolutions, or of what we naturally most wishfully desire,—a certain comprehension of the manner in which the first beings of our own species were brought into form and existence.

As the most enlightened philosophy, with all its attainments, is insufficient to gratify our wishes on these the most interesting subjects, let us with due reverence bow to the authority of that divine lawgiver Moses, who, in the lan-

guage of beautiful simplicity, refers our origin directly to the will of the Creator of the universe, manifested by the existence of an original pair of the human kind, placed in a state of capacity to people the earth.

In what particular spot of the globe these progenitors of the human race first drew their breath and propagated their species, is a question which has eluded the search of the most curious and inquisitive minds.

It has been clearly ascertained by the diligence of travellers of approved information, in ancient and modern times, that a great extent of territory bordering on the river Euphrates was, of all other portions of the earth's surface, apparently the best calculated for promoting the increase of the human species. Great plains, stretching out on all sides to a vast extent, in a happy climate, a soil of superabundant fertility to supply the wants of man, were calculated to produce a rapid increase of population; it being a proposition, the truth of which is evinced by experience, that man, as well as every species of animals, naturally multiplied in proportion to the means of subsistence within their reach; the progress of population being always facilitated or impeded, according to the degrees of difficulty with which the acquisition of the means of gratifying natural wants is attended. Hence it is reasonable to conclude, that the fruitful country just mentioned would be very early productive of great popu-

lation, which naturally diverging from the central point of original situation, would still embrace a wider circle, and, like a flowing tide, move in all directions, covering the earth's surface, wherever it was not opposed by obstacles sufficient to divert or check its progress.

To trace the migrations of the earliest inhabitants of the globe, would be a vain attempt. It is admitted, that the origin of even the Greeks and Romans, although the most renowned nations of antiquity, is involved in impenetrable obscurity.

It is now agreed among philosophers, that in scientific inquiries truth is to be ascertained by facts and experiments alone, and that conjecture, hypothesis, and speculative opinions, however plausible and ingenious, are to be rejected as unwary guides, ever liable to delusion and error. Prejudices and prepossessions too are to be cautiously guarded against, and beheld with a jealous eye, as at enmity with truth. In the present object of inquiry, we think ourselves bound to pay respect to matters of fact alone. To this source of information we mean to resort, for the ascertainment of truth regarding a people whose origin and descent form the principal object of the present inquiry.

The best informed Greek authors agree, that the Pelasgi were ancient inhabitants, not only of Greece, but of Thessaly, which from them received the name of *Pelasgia:* They were also

held to have been the earliest inhabitants of Italy; and the name, it was said, could be traced back into Asia. They possessed the coast of Thrace, the Hellespont, and a great part of Asia Minor. Strabo speaks with confidence respecting the fact, that the Pelasgi were anciently established over all Greece, and were the *first people who became powerful in that country.**

"It appears from a strong concurrence of circumstances recorded by ancient writers, that "the early inhabitants of Asia Minor, Thrace, "and Greece, were the same people. The Leleges, "Caucones, and Pelasgians, enumerated by Homer among the Asiatic nations, are mentioned "by Strabo as the principal names among those "whom, at the same time, he calls barbarians, "who in earliest times occupied Greece."†

We are informed, that in very early times many different people, of whom the most enlightened Greek writers could give no satisfactory account, overran Greece, sometimes mixing with the old inhabitants, and sometimes expelling them from their habitations.‡

In the days of Herodotus, there was spoken in Crestona, a part of Thrace, a language, which

* STRABO, lib. v. p. 220. lib. vii. p. 321. lib. xi. p. 401. HERODOT. account of the Pelasgi. THUCIDID. Introduction.

† MITFORD'S Hist. of Greece, B. i. c. 2. *et seq.*

‡ STRABO, lib. v. p. 221. lib. vii. p. 321. THUCID. lib. i. c. 2.

being unintelligible to the Greeks, was therefore called barbarous, and was supposed by Herodotus to have been the language of the ancient Pelasgians. "What language," says Herodotus, "the "Pelasgians used, *I cannot positively affirm:* "Some probable conclusion may perhaps be "formed by attending to the dialect of the rem- "nant of the Pelasgians, who now inhabit Cres- "tona, beyond the Tyrrhenians, but who for- "merly dwelt in the country now called Thes- "saliotis, and were neighbours to those whom "we at present name Dorians. Considering "these with the above, who founded the cities "of Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, but "once lived near the Athenians, together with "the people of other Pelasgian towns who have "now changed their names, we are, upon the "whole, justified in our opinion, that they for- "merly spoke a barbarous language. The Athe- "nians, therefore, who were also of Pelasgian "origin, must necessarily, when they came "amongst the Heleneans, have learned their "language. It is observable, that the inhabi- "tants of Crestona and Placia speak in the same "tongue, but are neither of them understood by "the people about them: these circumstances "induce us to believe, that their language has "experienced no change."*

* Beloe's Herodot. B, i. c. 57.

The country always known to the Romans by the name of *Græcia*, was not distinguished by the inhabitants of Greece by that name. We are told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that a Pelasgic colony from Thessaly had crossed over into Italy, and had communicated to the inhabitants of Italy the name *Graikia* for the country of Greece, and *Graikoi* for the inhabitants of that country; which names were retained by the Romans ever after that ancient period. If Graikia (Γραικια) was at any time a name known to the inhabitants of Greece as denoting their country, it is certain that it was forgotten and abandoned in the days of Homer, who makes no mention of such name. It is no less certain, however, that the Greeks had very early distinguished themselves by the appellation of Graii (Γραικοι) as a generic name for the people of Greece, who in later times took the appellation of Ἑλληνες, *Hellenes*. The Iones, Dores, Æoles, and Achæi or Achivi, were names known in Greece as distinctive appellations of different tribes or portions of the Grecian people, as well as the name of Hellenes, which was also a distinctive appellation of a certain portion of that people. Although these different appellations were understood to be distinctive, yet the tribes to which they were specially applied, were a kindred people, speaking the same language, which was unquestionably different from that of Crestona and Placia, and consequently was not the language of

those denominated the ancient barbarous inhabitants. To whatever causes is to be ascribed the change of name of Greece from *Graikia* to Ἑλλας, *Hellas*, and of the Greeks from *Graioi* and *Graikoi* to Ἑλληνες, *Hellenes*, it is undoubted that the whole Grecian people assumed the name of *Hellenes* for their generic appellation, and of *Hellas* for that of their country, although it does not appear that any powerful foreign invaders known by that name had ever attempted the conquest of Greece, or subjugated the ancient inhabitants. If, then, these different tribes spoke the same language, and were not aborigines of Greece, they must have migrated from the same country.

The testimony of ancient authors removes every doubt respecting the fact, that Asiatic colonies at various times migrated into or invaded Greece, and made settlements in it, either by expulsion of the indigenous inhabitants, or by mixing with them upon terms of amity and concord. That this last mode of settlement was that which took place, will, we trust, appear in the course of this inquiry.

We have transcribed from Herodotus a passage which appeared to be of importance, towards forming some satisfactory idea relative to the ascertainment of the origin and descent of the early inhabitants of Greece: We shall now take notice of another passage, which appears to be

also worthy of particular remark. "But the nation of the Hellenes, since ever it existed, continues, as far as to me appears, to use the same "language; being a branch cut off from the "Pelasgic stock, and, weak and inconsiderable "at the first, in a short time it increased into a "multitude of people; vast numbers of the "neighbouring nations in particular, and multitudes of other barbarians in general, having "joined it, as I imagine to have been the case."* It will be observed, that this father of Grecian history speaks with great uncertainty with respect to the origin and descent of the Helleneans. He seems to speak with some confidence, when he says that they were a branch of the Pelasgic stock; if so, they were in his opinion the same original people with the inhabitants of Crestona and Placia, who spoke a barbarous language, and not Greek. If the Hellenes were a branch of the Pelasgi known to the Greeks, and universally admitted by all their learned men to have been very early a great and powerful people, not only in Greece, but in Thessaly, Thrace, the Hellespont, and Asia Minor; the Γραικοι, *Græci*, were also of the Pelasgic stock. Aristotle, giving an account of a deluge, informs us that this deluge happened chiefly about the district of the Hellenes, and near the ancient city Hellas. That city lay near Dodona on the Achelous; for this

* HERODOT. lib. i. c. 58.

river has often changed its name. The Selli resided there, and those who were at that time called Graikoi, and now are denominated Hellenes. "Habitabant etenim inibi Selli, et qui tunc appellabantur Græci, nunc autem Hellenes."—"δὲ οἱ καλουμενοι τοτε μεν Γραικοι, νυν δε Ἑλληνες." *Aristotelis Meteoralogicorum*, lib. i.

It will be observed, that in the passage from Herodotus first above transcribed, he says, that the Athenians were also of Pelasgian origin; but he adds, that the Athenians must necessarily, when they came amongst the Hellenes, have learned their language; a circumstance which implies that the language of the ancient Hellenes and that of the Athenians were different, and which seems to be unaccountable, upon the supposition of both these people being branches of the same, viz. the Pelasgic stock. "Some of "the best supported of ancient Grecian tradi-"tions," says a very learned and ingenious author, "relate the establishment of Egyptian colonies "in Greece; traditions so little accommodated to "national prejudice, yet so very generally receiv-"ed, and so perfectly consonant to all known "history, that, for their more essential circum-"stances, they seem unquestionable. But with "all the intricacy of fable in which early Gre-"cian history is involved, the origin of the "Greek nation, from a mixture of the Pelasgian, "and perhaps some other barbarous hordes, with

"colonies from Phœnicia and Egypt, seems not "doubtful."*

One great and important fact may be relied on as certain, that in that quarter of the globe known by the name of Asia, a great portion of the inhabitants lived for ages in a state of high civilization, cultivation, and opulence, were collected into great and populous cities, and governed by the polity of extensive empires, which became the seats of arts, of luxury, and despotism, before Athens or Rome, so illustrious in the western world, had any existence, or even Greece and Italy were known by these names to the refined nations of the East, as parts of the habitable world.

That the Pelasgi were the first or earliest inhabitants of Greece, is a fact which we do not recollect to be affirmed by any author; that, however, they were very early inhabitants of that country, is admitted; and that they introduced civilization and arts into Greece, is vouched by the revered authority of Homer. The Pelasgians are by him enumerated among the Trojan auxiliaries: he bestows on them a highly honourable epithet, διοι πελασγοι, intimating some very estimable qualities in their character by which they were supereminently distinguished. The commentator Eustathius explains the reason of the application of so dignified an epithet, from the circumstance

* MITFORD's History of Greece, vol. i. p. 19.

that they were the only people who, after Deucalion's flood, preserved the use of letters.*

These Pelasgi, it will be observed, were still Asiatics; those of their race, who, long before the Trojan war, had passed the Hellespont, and migrated into Greece, had been long mixed with the ancient inhabitants of that country, and were animated, without distinction, with the passions and heroic ardour of the Grecian people. In latter times, it is well known that a great body of the Anglo-Saxon people fled into Scotland, to avoid the cruelty and tyranny of the Norman conqueror. These Anglo-Saxons mixed with the ancient inhabitants of Scotland, with whom they became intimately incorporated, and assumed their national appellation, imbibed their animosities and antipathies, and, being farther advanced in the knowledge of the useful arts than were the people with whom they had immixed, they not only added to the national strength of their old enemies by an increase of numbers, but, by a communication of a more industrious exertion of the cultivation of the new country of which they became possessors, gradually improved the condition of the Scottish people, and communicated to them the use of a language, which being found to be more convenient as the vehicle of intelligence, and more accommodated to transactions of a commercial nature with their southern neigh-

* Iliad, Odyss. EUSTATHIUS.

bours, was adopted as the court language of the country to which they migrated for protection.

The Pelasgi with their manners introduced their language into Greece, of which language, and that of the native inhabitants, the Greek language became a mixture. The ancient language came in a great measure to be absorbed into the language of this new Asiatic people; and although a great body of the more ancient language was still retained, the remnant was clothed in so new and variegated a garb, as to render it strange and unintelligible to those native inhabitants who had preserved themselves and their language free from any foreign admixture.

It is evident that the Pelasgi, when they settled in Greece, exceeded the natives in power and number, being previously in possession of large and extensive territories on this side the Hellespont, as well as in Asia. The Greek language rose into a fabric of the most exquisite and astonishing art, at a period of which the Greeks themselves furnish not even traditionary accounts. "Nor does any circumstance in the history of "the Grecian people appear more difficult to ac- "count for, *even in conjecture*, than the extra- "ordinary superiority in form and polish which "their speech acquired, in an age beyond tradi- "tion, and in circumstances apparently most un- "favourable. For it was amid continual migra- "tions, expulsions, mixtures of various hordes,

"and revolutions of every kind, the most un-
"questionable circumstances of early Grecian
"history, that was formed that language, so
"simple in its analogy, of such complex art in
"its composition and inflexion, of such clearness,
"force, and elegance in its contexture, and of
"such singular sweetness, variety, harmony, and
"majesty in its sound. Already, in the time of
"Homer and Hesiod, who lived long before writ-
"ing was common, we find it in full possession
"of all these perfections; and we learn, on no
"less authority than that of Plato, that still in
"his time the diction of Thamyris and Orpheus,
"supposed to have lived long before Homer, was
"singularly pleasing."*

Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude, that Greece was inhabited in very ancient times by a race of people who were enlightened from the East, and particularly from Asia.†

Another ingenious author writes in the following manner. "The early poets, however, of
"whom any materials remain, were not natives
"of Greece. They were of Thrace, or of Asia
"Minor. Homer mentions Thamyris, the Thra-
"cian, contending in song with the Muses them-
"selves in Peloponnesus. Olen, the Lycian, was
"the inventor of the Grecian Hexameter verse,
"and his hymns, which were sung at the festival

* MITFORD'S Hist. of Greece, c. iii. sect. 3.

† Lord MONBODDO.

" of Apollo at Delos, in the time of Herodotus,
" were the most ancient known to the Greeks.
" The hymns of Thamyris and Orpheus were ad-
" mired for their singular sweetness, even in the
" days of Plato; and the Thracians, Thamyris,
" Orpheus, Musæus, Eumolpus, with Olen the
" Lycian, were the acknowledged fathers of
" Grecian poetry, and the first who attempted
" to reclaim the Greeks from barbarity, and to
" introduce that refinement of manners, taste, and
" language, which, in subsequent ages, distin-
" guished a Greek from a barbarian."*

Language affords the most authentic monument of the original connexion of nations. It is the principal indication of the consanguinity of races of men. It is clear, that the inhabitants of Greece spoke, before it was known by that name, a language, which the improved Greeks termed barbarous; a remnant of that barbarous language was retained down to the age of Herodotus, by that portion of the natives who had preserved themselves free from an admixture with strangers speaking a different language. " Concerning the barbarous hordes, who, in ear-
" liest times, occupied Greece under various
" names, Dryopes, Caucones, Æones, Leleges,
" Pelasgians, and others, the diligent and judi-
" cious Strabo seems to have been unable to
" discern how far they were different people.

* SULLIVAN'S Letters, vol. iv. p. 425.

"They appear to have been much intermixed, "but the Pelasgian name prevailed most on the "continent, and the Lelegian in the islands. "The Athenians and Arcadians, in whose coun- "try there had never, within the bounds of tra- "ditionary memorials, been any complete revo- "lution of the population, continued always to "refer their origin, in part at least, to the Pelas- "gian revolutions depriving the other Greeks of "means to trace their ancestry so high, gave "them at the same time new eras from which "to begin their account of themselves, in con- "sequence of which the old fell the more readily "into oblivion. The Pelasgian name thus grew "obsolete at an early period, and the Greek nation "became distinguished into two hordes, called "Ionian and Æolian. Yet the distinction of "those hordes, whatever it originally was, be- "came in the course of ages more than nominal, "since, though their settlements were intermix- "ed, and *their language fundamentally one*, each "people still preserved its peculiar dialect."*

However much the language of the most ancient inhabitants of Greece became altered and improved by new settlers among them, it is not to be presumed, that the original barbarous language was totally extinguished; some vestiges would still remain as a monument of their original descent. If all the dialects of the Greek

* MITFORD'S Hist. of Greece, c. iii. sect. 1.

language, the Ionic, Æolic, Doric and Attic, have equally retained any known ancient language, as in any measure the basis of their different improved dialects, it sufficiently proves, that all the Greeks equally owed their origin to the people who spoke that language in its barbarous, unpolished, or uncultivated state.

That the early progenitors of the Greeks and Romans were intimately allied at some unknown remote period, is a matter of fact, which is put beyond doubt by the languages of both those people.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, "The Romans speak a language which is neither entirely barbarous nor purely Greek; it is a mixture of the Greek and a barbarous language. The greatest part of the Roman language is taken from the Æolic. The only inconvenience which the intercourse of so many people who have immixed themselves with them, has produced, is, that they do not pronounce all the words as they ought to do. In other respects, there are not among all the colonies which the Greeks have founded, any who have preserved more distinct traces of their origin."*

The Latin language, according to the opinions of venerable ancient authors, consists of the

* DIONYS. Halicarn. l. i. p. 76. *Vid.* QUINTILIAN, l. v. c. 5. *Colonis ad hunc locum.* SERVIUS *ad Æneid,* l. i. § 1. p. 187.

Greek mixed with another language, which the Greeks called barbarous, but by which the Greek itself was not in their judgment at all affected.

According to the opinions of the Greek and Roman writers, the Roman language is radically Greek, and derived adventitiously only from the language or languages they called barbarous. If this notion be just, it follows, that the Greek language bears no affinity to that barbarous language, of which and of the Greek the Latin language was a mixture, and which so far tainted the purity of its Grecian descent. If there exists a living language, to which both the Greek and Latin languages are in a considerable degree equally indebted for their roots, primitive words and compounds, it is apprehended to be a fair conclusion, that, to such extent, that living language was the parent of both those illustrious languages.

As Italy was inhabited prior to Grecian colonies sent thither from Greece or Æolia, it cannot be doubted, that the language of those Greeks would, in the progress of time, become a mixture of the Greek and of the language of the prior inhabitants. Respecting that prior language we have no certain account from historical record. If however we find a great part of the Latin language, which is not Greek, is radically derived from the Gaelic language, as spoken at this day by the inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland, and by the descendents of the ancient inhabitants

of Ireland; and that a great part of the Greek, which is not Latin, is also derived from the Gaelic language, and that a very considerable portion of both these languages, where they agree in sound and sense, is obviously deducible from the same source, we draw thence two conclusions: *1st*, That the Gaelic language is so far the common parent of both; *2dly*, That the Greek language brought into Italy by Grecian colonies, renewed, in its altered and more cultivated state, its acquaintance with its parent languages, the Pelasgic and Gaelic, as yet spoken in a more uncultivated state by the inhabitants of Italy.

We propose to submit, with all due deference to the learned, some remarks and observations, which we think entitle the Gaelic language to claim in some measure to be the parent stock of both the Greek and Latin languages. We propose also to offer some remarks to show, that the Gael of Scotland and Ireland are genuine descendants of the great Gaelic nation, whose language was Gaelic, and has been preserved in greatest purity by the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland, who, if our deduction be well founded, are the progeny of the same race of people who first inhabited Greece and Italy, and who, immixed chiefly with the Pelasgians, became in after times, under the names of Greeks and Romans, so illustrious for their improvements in philosophy, arts and sciences, and for their conquests over many nations.

The science of cultivation of language is an object worthy the attention of a refined people. The study of language has occupied minds the most remarkable for ingenuity and acuteness. Such study is curious and amusing. Is it not, in a philosophical sense, instructive too, when it carries with it that spirit of research, which, in primitive roots and their combinations, serves to throw light upon the original situation of man in his earliest state of existence, to investigate the history of ideas, and to develop the operations of the human mind in the formation of the art by which ideas are communicated?

In disquisitions of an etymological nature, much caution is to be observed. Fanciful imaginations have often run into such deviations from the natural combinations of the component parts of speech, as have given frequent occasion to throw into ridicule a science, in a just view not contemptible, whose object is to ascertain the formation of the words of a language, and deduce them from their radical primitives.

"The world is a great wilderness, wherein "mankind have wandered and jostled one ano-"ther about from the creation; and it would be "difficult to point out the country which is at "this day in the hands of its first inhabitants; "no original stock is perhaps any where to be "traced."* In this view of things, the Greeks

* SULLIVAN'S Letters.

and Romans could not boast of being possessed of an original language. A claim to such originality can be truly maintained only by an unmixed people. Such, we will venture to affirm, are to be found at this day in the Highlands of Scotland.

Some learned men have entertained the opinion, that the Greek, the Roman, and the Celtic languages, had one common origin.* If this opinion be well founded, whatever alterations they may have undergone in the course of ages, by the multiplication of ideas, and consequently of words, or by revolutions incident to communities and states, they were at some remote period kindred languages. It still remains an undetermined question, which of these languages has best preserved the unadulterated parent stock. It is admitted that the Latin is in a great measure a dialect of the Greek language, and it cannot be maintained that the Grecian philologists have been, with all the ingenuity they have displayed in their etymological analysis of words, successful in establishing their true derivation to flow from primitives constituting the elementary basis of that illustrious language; but it is a proposition which is admitted by all those who are in a moderate degree critically versed in the Gaelic language, that every word in that language is either a simple primitive, a compound, or a deri-

* Pezron. Lhuid.

vation from well known primitives in the same language. In fact, the Greek language is a copious, elegant, and polished composition of various ancient languages. It still, however, retains a pregnant proof of its descent from that common origin, of which the language called by the above mentioned learned authors *Celtic,* but by us *Gaelic,* still remains the living offspring.

The Greek language, it is certain, never penetrated into the country of the Gael of Scotland. The Romans visited it as enemies, who separated themselves and their conquered provinces from it and its inhabitants, by walls defended by Roman arms. The Saxons, Angles, and Normans, were ever held as enemies, with whom the Gael held no intercourse which could affect their language; and the Danes or Norwegians, although they made conquests of several of the Scottish islands, and retained them in subjection for a considerable time, yet they never penetrated into the interior of the country in any other shape than as enemies, with arms in their hands; and as such they met with successful opposition and a total expulsion, without their being able at any period to make permanent settlements. That the Picts were of Scythian race, or emigrants from the northern continent of Europe, we hesitate not to affirm to be a false conjecture, which we will have occasion to consider in another place.

Original Condition of Man.

However humiliating it may appear to those who entertain high notions of the physical and moral nature of the human species, the testimonies of ancient and modern authors concur in establishing this proposition, That mankind, in the primitive ages of their existence, followed a mode of life similar to the gregarious animals of the brute creation. Yet, more cruel than these, human beings, to gratify their vengeance or their sensual appetites, have been found devouring their own species, with as little feeling of compunction, remorse, or revolt of mind, as they fed on the flesh of those other animals which still prove savoury to the taste of the polished and refined part of mankind.

The philosophic curiosity, or commercial views of modern times, have established beyond controversy the existence of cannibals or man-eaters. Modern voyagers of the highest credit, teach us to respect relations of ancient authors,* who were long held in derision, as handing down traits of human manners which could obtain the credit of historical facts only in those days of ignorance

* *Vide* Goguet, and the Authors quoted, vol. i. Introduction.

and credulity, when superstition and fable held despotic sway, and excluded every ray of science and philosophy.

Mankind have, in all ages, exhibited signs of brutality and fierceness, which are ever inconsistent with those sympathies and tender feelings of which their improved nature is capable. "Vitiis sine nemo nascitur, optimus ille est qui "minimis urgetur."

The nicest musical ear, accustomed only to the sounds of simple melodies, cannot at once perceive the beauties, nor relish the combined, though just harmony, of artificial musical composition. To feel forcibly the power and energy of pleasurable sounds, requires habitual cultivation. Sounds which at first afford only a confused sense of blended or undistinguished harmony, or strike the ear with an agreeable concordance, will, in the progress of more familiar acquaintance, touch powerfully the strings of the heart, pour upon the mind a flood of joys, which elevate the soul, and convey a conscious intimation of a nature superior to the pursuits of terrestrial animals.

Congenial with these sensations are the feelings of sympathetic hearts in the communication of tender pleasures. The exercise of the benevolent affections ever give the purest delight; relief afforded to the mind afflicted with the woes of unmerited misfortune, is a sweet gratification. Man may be held, therefore, with ap-

parent justice, to be framed in a superior mould to other terrestrial animals. He is capable of enjoyments which refine and purify his sensual appetites and passions. These, by due cultivation, are made subservient to the exalted, the dignified, and heavenly qualities of his nature. He is then most perfect, when the great end and object of his actions are the welfare and happiness of his kind; then it may be said, that his soul lives in the beams of that pure, glowing, benignant fire of the divine energy, which pervades the worlds, and sustains the harmony of the universe.

The capabilities of our nature prove, then, that our species stands at the top of the scale of earthly beings. We alone seem to be brought within the system of moral agency, from which arise those various duties we owe to one another in society; and by the observance or violation of which, we are rendered objects of the pleasant or painful affections of the mind, which dispose mankind to bestow rewards, or inflict punishments.

The earliest state of human existence being prior to the knowledge of even the simple elements of those arts and sciences by which man is supereminently distinguished from other animals, we cannot expect to have transmitted to us, by any race of people, any satisfactory accounts of their original state of existence or modes of life. It might naturally be expected,

however, that the language of a primitive people, if preserved from corruption, and not obscured or overwhelmed by those revolutions which are too often the consequences of inordinate ambition and the lust of conquest, might still retain evidence of the state and mode of their original existence in social connexion. This view of language presents a curious subject of inquiry, and if any light can be thrown upon it, by attention to the structure of any now living language, or of any of the learned dead languages, it may not perhaps be deemed unworthy of the regard of the curious philosophic mind.

"Bred up in civilized society, we view its complex structure without surprise. The composition, the copiousness, the clearness, force, and elegance of a language, produce not marks of admiration in the great body of the people who speak it, while a philosophic inquirer analyzes its combinations with a mixed sensation of admiration and delight. A critical examinator views the stupendous fabric with wonder, and concludes with a thorough conviction, that ages without number must have contributed to the erection of so astonishing a fabric of art and ingenious contrivance. Not satisfied with contemplating its general beauties, the inquisitive mind examines its component parts, and naturally seeks, with keen research, to obtain knowledge of the elementary basis of so grand a monument of human production."

Aversion from any laborious exertion of the members of the body, is found universally to prevail among mankind. It is necessity that puts in motion the inventive faculties of the human mind. Man is satisfied with the spontaneous productions of the field for his subsistence, and with the natural excavations of the earth for his habitation, while these are found barely sufficient to preserve his existence.

That the primeval progenitors of the Gael originally made use of caves to cover them from the inclemency of the weather, or from the attacks of wild beasts, the Gaelic, Greek, and Latin languages furnish, we think, satisfactory evidence.

The primitive Gaelic words for *a house* are *tai*, and *teach*. The word by which *a cave* is expressed, is *uai* or *uamh*. *Tai*, though apparently a simple root, is a compound of *ti*, *a being* or *person*, and *uai*, *a cave*; *tai* is a contraction of these two words, and the literal meaning is, *man's cave*. It may be observed, that in Greek the simple word δω signifies *a house*, though δωμα came more into use. This word, as well as the Latin *domus*, are derivatives of the Gaelic *tamh*, which signifies *residence*, and which is a compound of *ti* and *uamh*, *a man's cave*. The Gaelic word *teach* is preserved in the Greek τυχος, *turus*, and the Latin *tectum*, *a house*. The Greeks, in modifying the original word to the genius of their language, added the termination *a*, and the Latins *us*, to the original word *tamh*, and the one

oi, and the other *tum*, to the other original word. In this manner appear modified all the words of the original Gaelic language, which have been preserved in the Greek and Latin languages. This modification we shall have frequent occasion to remark in the following pages.

The Pelasgians, who introduced into Europe a new and improved language, communicated also their language to the more ancient inhabitants of Greece and Italy, insomuch that the native language of these countries came to be overwhelmed by the influx of those eastern invaders; and although the old language was not totally extinguished, it underwent such inflections and modifications as were suitable to the genius of the language of the prevailing people, and thus becoming so altered in its form and structure, was no longer to be recognized as a different language, or considered to be at variance with that of the more improved eastern people, with whose language it came to be so intimately incorporated.

In early periods of social existence, the relations formed by a regular and permanent union of the sexes were unknown; still, however, man being a social animal, motives of attraction were felt that linked him to his kind by ties, which, as they evidently excited and guided his actions, must have early obtained a name by which they were distinguished. The relation of blood was formed through the mother; but those relations

were not of so strong and powerful a nature in early society, when the children of the women of a community or tribe, being of uncertain fathers, were esteemed to be the children of the community, were reared under the public care, and not by the joint offices of one male and one female. The great ties were expressive of a public relation, and arose from the objects of the society being productive of joint care, exercised in common.

We have undoubted testimony to the fact, that women have had great sway among barbarous nations, and that they were the best hostages to be given to insure performance of engagements, or to preserve peace and amity.*

Relation of blood was reckoned by the mother. Hence it was, that among the ancient Germans the children of the sister were dearer to their uncle than to the reputed father. The connexion was deemed even more sacred and binding upon the uncle.†

Mankind being found in early ages to be universally divided into families or tribes, it might naturally thence be inferred, that the relation or ties of connexion in society would be expressed by names descriptive of those circumstances, which constitute the essence of the bond of union. Let us examine the Gaelic, the Greek, and Latin languages, to see if they throw any light upon this subject.

* FALCON. p. 335. † TACIT. German.

The words by which *family* is expressed in Gaelic, is *teadhloch* and *cuedichc*, or *coedichc*: These words, though applied to *family*, the first is more properly expressive of family, *quas nox coegerat sedes*, as referring to residence; the other more properly denotes the company who commonly eat together. *Teadhloch* is a compound of three original words; tai, *a house*, dol, *inflected* dhol, *going*, taidhol, *resort*, and oich, *night*, which signify *resort at night*. It may be observed, that οικος signifies *house* or *family* in a collective sense, in Greek; *nochc*, *the present night*, Gaelic, *nox*, Latin. This resort was one capital circumstance which marked the connexion or relation of a primeval society. Their nightly residence and common habitation formed a bond of union of a very strict kind. Their eating together was another important circumstance in social intercourse, and formed also a very strong link of connexion. This was expressed in the Gaelic language by the word *coedichc*, which literally signifies *eating in common*, and is used at this day to denote a company met for the enjoyments of the table: this is the proper acceptation of the word, and it is used to denote the members of a man's family, as forming his ordinary companions at meals. The compounds of this word are radicals in Greek and Latin. *Co* denotes *common* in both these languages, as well as in Gaelic; though in the former it only appears in compounds, it is in the latter a significant primitive

word, used in a comparative sense; co mōr, *as big as*, co beg, *as little as; ed* signifies *food*, hence the Latin *edo* and the Greek ἔδω. *Ichc* is a significant word in the Gaelic language, and denotes *compassion*, which has a relation to food also; for *ich* is *to eat*, and *ichc* is *compassion*, or the relief afforded by eating. The acquisition of food must have been the object of chief attention in rude society. *Cod* and *codach* came to denote any subject of moveable property. But as eating in common was the most important mark of connexion in early society, *codach* naturally came to denote friendship, which it does in Ireland, though not used in that sense in Scotland.

There were more enlarged, and more general connexions than these understood by the Gael, which they expressed by *fine'* and *cinne'*. *Fine'* is expressive of being born of the same stock, race or lineage; *cinne'* is a compound of *co* and *fine'*, *cofhine'; fh* are quiescent in the compound, the word denotes a tribe comprehensively as a body. The increase of the tribe begot strength, which produced security, and both promoted prosperity; hence *cinne'* signifies *to prosper*, and *cinnecha*, *prosperity*.

Here we may mention the Greek word κοινὸς, signifying *common, public*, which is the *coinne'* of the Gaelic, and denotes a public meeting. It will be observed, that the *cœna*, the supper of the Latins, is no other than the most public meal, or

meal of greatest festivity, and, according to the Greek acceptation, it had also reference to social intercourse. The great comprehensive terms signifying the people at large, are, in Gaelic, *pobul*, and *sluagh* or *slogh*. The one is the *populus* of the Latins, the other is the λαος of the Greeks; the *s* is dropt in pronunciation in compounds, and in the genitive case, when the article corresponding to *the* in English is expressed, as of the people, *antshuai*, or *antsloi*. The *t* is used as a servile letter.

The learned reader will readily remark the similarity between the Greek word φυσις and the Gaelic *fine'*; he will be informed, that the Gaelic word *gin*, which signifies *a person born*, is the root of many Greek words expressive of *birth* and *generation*. The Latin *novus* is the derivative of the Gaelic *no* or *nua*. Nuaghin signifies *a new born infant*, literally *new one born*; ginal, *a person of the human race*; ginalach, *genealogy*, *pedigree*. Hence γινομαι, γινναω, and the Latin words *gigno*, *genero*; γενος, *generation*, *race*, *lineage*; γενεαλογια, *genealogia*, *genealogy*, and many other words from the same stock. λογος, λογια, is the Gaelic *luaigh*, which signifies *to speak or make mention of*, and is applied in common language too, to the act of stirring any thing; so fulling of cloth is *luaigh*.

The circumstances that produced friendly attachment have no reference to consanguinity. The word *cared* is used to express a relative and

friend. This word is a compound of three Gaelic roots, or words of known signification, viz. co, *common*, ar, *field*, ed, *food*. These combinations are expressive of the connexion which was formed by the simultaneous use or consumption of the produce of the common field; so *cardias* signifies *consanguinity*, also *friendship*.

The Greek word καρδια, and the Latin cor, *heart*, are both derivatives of the Gaelic words *co*, *ar*. In Gaelic, when two words are joined in composition, the one ending, the other beginning with a vowel, one of the vowels is dropped. Some people drop in pronunciation the last vowel of the first compound; others drop the first vowel of the last compound; *e. g.* much, moch, *early*, the word is a compound of mu, *about*, or *close to*, and oich, *night*; several examples might be given, *mulach*, *molach*, &c. The Greeks said καρδια in place of *caredia*: The Latins pronounced *cor*, *cors*, *concors*, *cordia*, *concordia*, &c. They said *carus*, too, expressive of *endearment* or *affection*, as well as *high price* or *pecuniary value*. *Car* is a Gaelic word significant of *affection*. These words are expressive, in the original language, of an important circumstance pointing out relation and family connexion in early society, and which came to denote, both in Greek and Latin, the heart, from which kindness and friendship are understood to flow.

Eating in common forming a strong mark of connexion and social union, *codach*, *cadach*, and

caradrach, came very naturally to express *friendship*, which they are in use to signify among the Gael of Ireland at this day. *Dile* and *dileas* are words significant of *consanguineous relation*, but literally signify *affection* or *love*, from whatever cause it may arise; *digh-thoil*, *gh*, *th*, are aspirates, and quiescent in the compounds *de'il* or *dile'*, hence the Latin word *diligo*. This compound signifies *will* in a strong degree; the last word is the same with the Greek θελω.

Treibh (*bh* sound like *v*) signifies *a tribe* or *family*; from this was formed the Latin *tribus*. It is remarkable, that a herd of beasts is in Gaelic called *trebhed*, pronounced commonly *tre'ed*; the *bh*, which sounds like *v*, is dropped in common pronunciation, as *arbhar*, commonly applied to *corn crop*, is pronounced *arar*; many instances of such pronunciation occur. The word *trebhed* signifies literally, *the food of the tribe or family*.

The Gaelic language preserves evidence of primeval manners in the structure of the language itself, and thus remains a monument of information more ancient than any art, or science, or historical composition, by which knowledge can be communicated. If we are not mistaken, knowledge of a similar nature with respect to primitive ideas, manners, and modes of existence, may be deduced from the Greek language. We have observed, that both in the Greek and Latin languages, the word signifying simply *to eat* is

expressed by ἔδω, *edo*, and both are evidently derived from the Gaelic word ed, *food*.

The verb τρώγω, which is expressed in Latin by the verbs *rodo* and *comedo*, both which have a reference to *eating*, the last of which is translated in English *to eat up*, *to consume in riot*, means in the original language *to eat together*; so *comich* is a common word for *eating together*; the consonants *m* and *n* were often in compounds interjected between the word *co* and its adjunct. To a Gaelic scholar it is needless to mention examples. To a Latin scholar many such will readily occur; so the noun *combibo* signifies *a pot or bottle companion*, as does also *compotator*; the verbs *combibo* and *compoto* signify *to drink together*; the verb *bibo* is not of Gaelic origin so far as we know, but *poto* is derived from the root pōt, *drink*, pōter, *a drinker*, which is the same with the Latin *potor*, and the Greek πότης. We presume it will be difficult for any Latin or Greek scholar to give the etymon of those words, though in Gaelic it is obvious to every one who speaks the language. *Poter* is a compound of pōt, *drink*, and fer, *a man*, the *f* is quiescent in the compound, *po* or *pa* is *thirst*. To prosecute the subject in this view would lead us greatly beyond the limits prescribed by this inquiry. Had the Greek and Latin philologists been acquainted with the Gaelic language, they would have been attended with more success in their etymological analysis, than they could possibly

derive from the most perfect critical knowledge of their own languages alone.

If *comedo* is the just meaning of τρωγω, it is literally expressive of *eating together*. The words *edo* and *exedo* are both Greek and Latin; the one means simply *to eat*, and the other *to consume* or *devour*, neither of which bear the precise meaning of the verb τρωγω, which may be properly used to signify *the act of several persons eating together*. It may be observed, that τρωγλη signifies *a cavern*, which we may reasonably presume to have derived its name from its serving the purpose of a receptacle for persons making a meal, or serving as a place of rendezvous or resort for such purpose, and might bear, in a literal sense, the translation of an *eating place;* so τρωγαλια means *dainties*, or nice delicate meats used at feasts or banquets, and which necessarily imply the food of a company, not of one person. The Latin word *comestor*, which we think literally bears reference to *eating in company*, is expressed by τρωκτης. The word τρωγω, which was expressive of the act of *eating*, and τρωγλη, denoting *a cave* or *cavern*, are nearly allied; is it an unreasonable inference, that a cave got that name from the circumstance of the common use of natural excavations of the earth as houses, by the earliest progenitors of the Greeks, who were not Gael? Hence an African race, of whom Pliny gives an account, got the name of Troglodites, because they were accustomed to live in caves.

That the principal bond of connexion was not in early society formed by consanguinity, we apprehend to be also further illustrated by the Greek and Latin languages.

A person related by birth was properly expressed in the Greek language by συγγενης. There was, however, another word signifying a relative, which had no reference to birth or consanguinity, but came to be used for a connexion of kindred, from a circumstance of a very different nature than that derived from birth or marriage. πασις signifies *a relation by affinity*, though it is evidently of the same root with πασω, which signifies *to eat, to feed*; hence the Latin word *pasco*, both from the Gaelic primitive *pa*, which commonly denotes *thirst*, or a desire to gratify some natural appetite.

In the wandering state of ancient pastoral life, the herd of cattle was the common property of the tribe or community, who kept or moved together from motives of convenience and safety, and which begot affection. The great marks of connexion were those of their eating together of the common food, and of their cattle feeding on their common pastures. Hence πασις, which originally bore reference to the relation formed by common food and common pasture, came to denote *a relation of kindred* or *consanguinity*. The word πασω was also used to express *possession* and *acquisition*, which being necessarily connected with the use of the produce of the field, or of

the subject whence food was derived, the usage of pasturage being a visible mark of possession, came to denote, by a metonomy natural to the mind, *the act of possession* or *acquisition.*

The Latin language furnishes examples of a similar nature with its kindred language the Greek. *Agnatus* and *cognatus* have an obvious reference to *birth;* but *affinis* and *propinquus* have clearly a reference to a connexion formed by ideas of a different nature; both literally imply juxtaposition, or near local situation, though *affinis* has been used to denote *ally* by marriage, and *propinquus, a kinsman.*

The acquisition of the means of subsistence being the primary object of man's earliest attention, it is natural to expect that contention about food would very early take place. The Gaelic word which expresses *enemy* is namhed, *a spoiler of food;* namher, *a surly fierce man;* amhuile, *to spoil;* amhler, *a vagabond.* So *nem* signified *to possess,* and also *to kill;* which intimate, that acquisition and possession of the means of subsistence were often the cause of contention and death.

Relation of blood or consanguinity makes no deep impression on the mind, until marriage is established in such a manner as that the wife is understood, morally and religiously, to be connected with one man only; an institution which closely attends that division of property which is guarded by laws, securing to individuals the

exclusive use of all subjects capable of appropriation.

Ancient authors* furnish us with ample testimony regarding nations of rude people, who had no other clothing than that which the simple natural productions of the earth afforded. They covered their bodies with barks or leaves of trees, with herbs or bulrushes; but the most prevalent covering was that of the skins of animals. It is curious to observe, that the language of the Gael has preserved an evident proof of the clothing of their earliest progenitors. Σαγη, among the Greeks, was used, in the refined periods of their language, to denote *a covering* which was put on asses or mules to prevent their receiving hurt from their burdens; it was also used for a military garment, or any exterior habit. *Sagum* was used by the Latins to denote *a soldier's coat* and *coverlet*, and, in general, it came to be applied to any external covering or vestment. The original word is that used in Gaelic to express *a hide*, which is pronounced *seich*, *saich*, *saichc*. The Greeks and Latins preserved the name of the earliest clothing of their ancestors to denote *an outer garment*, also a *covering* put on a beast of burden below his load. This cover would very naturally be first made of the hides of animals, and the word being preserved to denote any sort of cover made use of by man, points out its most ancient mean-

* *Vide* Goguet, tom. i. p. 114.

ing in the radical language. *Clothing*, in Gaelic, is *edach*, which is an obvious compound of *ed*, *food*, and *saich*, *hide*; the *s* is quiescent in the compound. *Ed* is still used in Ireland to denote *cattle*; *edal* is used in Scotland. *Edal* means literally, *the breed* or *offspring of cattle*, although its common acceptation is *cattle* in general, which acceptation became natural when cattle furnished the chief sustenance of the people.

As it cannot be doubted, that the hides of animals were used by the human species as covers to defend their bodies from the inclemencies of the weather, it is as little to be doubted, that hides or skins of animals were used as the readiest bags or instruments of convenience for carrying various things of necessary use; accordingly we find, that σακκος, *saccus*, denoted in Greek and Latin *a sack* or *bag*, intimating that such were originally made of the hides of animals. The same natural metonymy occurs also in Gaelic, where the word *sachc*, means *a load*, the *saich* or *hide* having been used as a necessary implement for that purpose.

It can hardly be supposed, that the hides of animals, when first used for clothes, were nicely adjusted to the members of the body, or that much art was displayed in the formation of those rude garments.

We have accounts of nations,* who, destitute

* *Vide* GOGUET, tom. i. p. 117.

of the knowledge of the art of twisting threads of any sort of vegetable substance, used the entrails of fishes, and the sinews of animals, to sew together and join their hides or skins, which they used for vesture or clothing to cover their bodies. The Greek language furnishes further evidence, that their early progenitors used leathern thongs for that necessary purpose: ιμας signifies *a leathern thong*, and ιματιον, *a garment*, literally, *a covering sewed with thongs*. It may be observed, that ιμα signifies *clothes; uima*, with the Gael, signifies *covering for the body;* and when a man is said to be completely accoutred for any active employment or exploit, they have preserved the phrase, *chai-e'na iallibh*, which is literally, *he went into his thongs*.

Names which prove the invention of arts and sciences, were not those first known among mankind. Societies arise not from speculations concerning the nature of man: There are attractions in the human species, not less certain than in the particles of matter of which the earth is composed. These attractions, with respect to man, may be called social instincts: They constitute the elementary basis of the best and wisest institutions; and governments can lay claim to the pleasing epithets of wise and good, in proportion only as they are calculated to promote the happiness of the human species. We have observed certain circumstances in the state of early society, which constituted a bond of

union, not entirely to be ascribed to those instinctive sensibilities which parents feel for their offspring, but to an instinct of a different nature, that of self-preservation, which, in the wandering state of pastoral life, produced connexions and associations, strengthened by a deliberative sense of public utility. Prior to any such association or connexion, relations of blood must have existed, and therefore it is to be presumed, that words denoting relations of consanguinity must have been invented very early in every language. It might be presumed also, that such words would exist as radicals of an original language, not capable of derivation from more simple roots.

The most intimate relations of consanguinity are those of father, mother, brother, sister. In the Gaelic language, these are expressed by *ath-er*, *ma-er*, *bra-er*, *piu-er*. These words are written with the letters *th* interposed between the vowels in the middle of the words; but they are not pronounced, as in English, they are only signs of aspirations. It will be observed by the Greek and Latin scholar, that the first of these languages had preserved the first two words in their πατηρ and μητηρ; in some parts of the Highlands of Scotland, the vowel *a* in *mather* is pronounced not broad, but like the English *a*, slender, conformable to the Scottish pronunciation of the Greek η. The Greek αδελφος for *brother*, and αδελφη for *sister*, bear no resemblance to the

Gaelic words. The Latins retained *pater*, *mater*, *frater*, but the word for *sister* is dissimilar to the Gaelic word. It has been observed, that the Persian words, *puddur*, *maddur*, *broder*, and the Teutonic, whence the English *father*, *mother*, *brother*, agree with the Greek and Latin. From the affinity among these languages in these words, is drawn a conclusion of original identity of people. If the inference be just, then the Gael were also of the original stock whence sprung these different nations. The question still remains, which nation or people constituted the original stock? With respect to the English, the Greek, and Latin languages, we may venture to say, that the words for *father*, *mother*, *brother*, are not reducible to the combinations of any known roots or words in these languages; but if they are compounds of well known words or roots in the Gaelic language, it follows of consequence, that this is the original language, whose terms for these relations were retained by those different people. *Ath* is a compound in a great multitude of Gaelic words. It signifies an animal, as *athir neimh*, *serpent*, literally, *the poisonous earth animal; ath thala'inn*, *a mole* or *ground animal*. So, *ath-er*, *the most noted* or *distinguished animal*. *Fer* signifies a *man*, or in a more comprehensive sense, *a person of the human race*, and is applied also to indicate any subject. *Ma-er* is descriptive of the *mother;* it means literally, the *pap*, *dug*, or *nipple person*. *Ma* signifies *a*

protuberance or *swelling* beyond the parts adjacent. *Men* signifies *small*, hence the Latin word *minus*, *minimus*, &c.; so the small-pox is known by the name of *menmha*, that is, *small protuberances*, and *mam* is *a great protuberance*. Hence the Latin *mamma* for a *woman's pap* or *breasts*. *Bra-er* relates to the upper part of the body, and literally points out the being suckled by the same *bra* or *breast*. We are not acquainted with the first compound of *piuer*, though, at some period, *piu* must have been known as a significant word in the language. It may be observed, that φρατης was retained in the Greek language to signify *a person of the same council or tribe*. The derivatives from this word point out sufficiently its genuine origin. We are warranted, we apprehend, in the judgment of every Gaelic scholar, to conclude, that the Gaelic is the source which furnished the words denoting *father*, *mother*, *brother*, to those other nations who have retained the same words, and consequently, so far, is entitled to the appellation of *the parent language*. It is curious to observe, that αμφις in Greek signifies *frater vel soror coetaneus*, *twin-brother* or *sister*; this is the *co-aos* of the Gaelic, which literally signifies *equal age*; a compound of *co*, *equal* in comparison, and *aos*, *age*.

It is to be presumed, that the objects of nature which strike the mind most forcibly, would ob-

tain names at a very early period of social existence. *Air, earth, sea, mountain, river,* these are called in Gaelic, *a-ar, tala* or *talamh*, also *tir, muir, mona, amhain.* Compare these with the Latin *aer, tellus*, and *terra; mare*, the genitive of the Gaelic word *muir* is *mar; mons, amnis.* The word *muir* is an obvious compound of *mu, about*, and *tir, land; muthir, th* quiescent, *sea*, appearing to surround the land. The similarity in these languages of words meaning the same things, cannot, by the utmost stretch of imagination, be ascribed to blind chance, therefore they must bring conviction to the mind, of the identity of the original stock or race of people of whom the Latins were at least partially descended. The affinity in the Greek language is apparent in the words αηρ, *air*, ποταμος, *river.*

Life and *death* must also have got early names. *Beo* is *alive*, in Gaelic; *betha, th* sounds as an aspirate, *life*, and *marbh* is *dead.* Hence the Greek βαω, βιαω, *I live*, and βιος, *life.* The Latins said *vivo, I live; vita, life.* The Latin words have retained the Gaelic inflection: *B* is softened into *v*, as *bheo e, he lives.* It has been observed, that in ancient Roman inscriptions *bita* has been found for *vita*, and in Greek, βιος and βιοτη; *vita, life*, also *food;* so *biath* signifies *food* in Gaelic: these, and many others, are all derived from the simple word *be, life; a bhetha, the life.* The word for *death* is in Latin *mors; murder*, in

Gaelic, is *mort* or *murt;* so the Latins in the genitive case have preserved in the declension of *mors, mortis, morti,* &c. The Greek word μοιρα signifies *a part* or *portion,* also *fatum, fate.*

It might naturally be supposed, that the field which furnished sustenance for man and beast, would also very early receive a name. In Gaelic *ar* is *a field,* so *arvum* is *a corn field* in Latin, and αρουρα in Greek; *ager* is any *field* in Latin, and αγρος in Greek. It may be remarked, that the Latins pronounced the letters *c* and *g* as the Gael always pronounce them, that is, hard; *c* as in the word corn, care, &c. and *g* as in game, again, &c.; so the Greeks, instead of saying *ager* as the Latins, added the termination *os* to the original compound; instead of *ageros,* they said αγρος; *acha* signifies *a field; arfher,* pronounced *ar-er* in Gaelic, *a ploughman.* From the root *ar* are derived a great multitude of words in the Greek and Latin; *aro,* αροω, *to sow; arator,* αροτης, *a ploughman; aratrum,* αροτρον, *a plough,* &c. The Latin *arbor* is evidently from the same root, and is a compound of two Gaelic words, *ar* and *bar,* which signify *the crop of the field;* so *arbhar* is *corn* in Gaelic, commonly pronounced *arar;* the Greek word for *a tree* is δρυς, the Gaelic word is *crao, craogh.*

It might be expected that the members of the body would receive very early distinct names, and that from them the identity of people would derive additional proof. Of these names a few

only occur as similar. The *mouth* is *bel* or *beal* in Gaelic, to which the Greek or Latin words for *mouth* bear no resemblance; but that the word was used by the progenitors of the Greeks is evident from the word βηλος, which signifies the *threshold* or *entrance to a house.* The Latin *ulna,* and the Greek ωλενη, is the Gaelic *uilenn,* as we shall have occasion to notice more particularly in another place. The *navel* is *imlag* in Gaelic, in Latin *umbilicus,* in Greek ομφαλος. The Gaelic word is a compound of *im,* which signifies *soft, fat, butter,* and *lag,* a *hollow,* expressive of the situation of the navel. *Iunga* is *the nail of a finger or toe;* the Latins said *unguis,* and the Greeks ονυξ. For *belly* the Greeks said κοιλια; the Gael use *goile* for *belly* or *stomach.* *Miar, meur, a finger;* μιερος, *a part of any thing:* this word is said to be derived from the verb μιερω, *to divide;* if so, it is more applicable to the Gaelic root *mir,* which signifies *a part* or *division of any solid substance. Corp* is *body,* Latin, *corpus; anim* is *mind, soul,* Latin, *animus, anima; anail, breath,* Latin, *helitus, anhelitus; failidh* or *ailidh* signifies *smell,* also *air,* in the English sense of airing, as *to take an airing,* is, *do ghabhail an aili.* From the word *cac,* which signifies *ordure,* comes the Latin verb *caco,* the Greek κακαω, and κακος, *malus,* and its many derivatives: *mun* signifies *to piss,* hence the Latin *mingo.* *Name* or discriminative appellation, is *ainaim* in Gaelic: The *nomen* of the Latins bears not so strong a mark of affinity to the

Gaelic word, as the ὄνομα of the Greeks. The Gaelic word is a compound of two well known significant words in the language, *ain, knowledge,* and *fuaim, sound; ainfhuaim, known sound, voice, name.* These words are taken notice of as connected with the body.

A pastoral people could not fail very early to distinguish, by particular names, the different animals upon which they chiefly depended for subsistence.

The Gaelic word for a *cow* is *bo,* a very natural appellation, because it is an imitation of the endearing voice of that animal to its calf. The βοάω of the Greeks, which signifies to *low,* is expressive of the loud cry of the animal, which she utters when the object of her affection or desire, such as her calf, or the herd with which she is in use to pasture, are at a distance or out of view. In such a situation a cow is observed to low, a horse to neigh. The *bos* of the Latins and the βους of the Greeks are obviously of the same root with the more simple word *bo* of the Gael. The Gaelic for the male of this species of animal is *tarbh,* pronounced as if written *tarv.* The Greeks and Latins, instead of adding the terminations *as* and *us* to the original word, so as to make it *tarvos* or *tarvus,* have pronounced it *tauros* and *taurus.*

The generic word for *a sheep* is in Gaelic *caor;* the Greek word for *a ram* is κριος. The Gaelic word for *a ram* is *rea,* hence the Latin word *aries;*

in Greek κριος signifies *a sheep* and *a flock of sheep*, and the Latins used *caro*, in the genitive *carnis*, for *flesh*. The Gaelic word for *a ewe* or *breeding sheep* is *oise*, *oisg*, in Latin *ovis*, in Greek ωις; *a lamb* in Gaelic is *uan*, in Latin *agnus*, in Greek αμνος; neither having adopted the pronunciation of *uanus* or *uanos*, modified the original word as most agreeable to the genius and inflections of their different dialects or languages. It may be observed, that where the consonant *g* occurs in Latin immediately before the consonant *n*, it was not probably pronounced as in English, but as pronounced by the Italians, in the words *agne*, *agnella*, and the French *agneau* and *gli*, *seraglio*.

The *goat*, another animal of considerable use in pastoral life, it is to be presumed, was not unknown to the most ancient inhabitants of Greece and Italy. The name of this animal is different in Greek and Latin. The Latins, however, retained *caper* to signify *a goat*, the Gaelic word for *a goat* is *gabhar*.

It admits of no doubt, that the ancient inhabitants of Asia and Europe made great use of the horse, both in war and in peace. The Gaelic name for this animal is *ech*, hence the Latin *equus*; rejecting the guttural *ch*, they substituted the letter *q*, which is always followed by the vowel *u*, so that the word naturally in their mouths became *equus*, and not *echus*. The other word by which a horse was expressed in Latin was *caballus*, which is the Gaelic word

capall, a name that is among the Gael of Scotland applied commonly to *a brood mare*. It will be observed, that the Greeks, though they retained no derivative from the Gaelic word *ech*, as signifying a horse, have preserved the other appellation in their word καβαλλος, which denoted, both among the Greeks and Romans, *a sumpter* or *pack-saddle horse*.* In the Gaelic language, the word being applied to a foal mother, it might perhaps imply, that mares were in that state used chiefly as beasts of burden.

Natural productions would early receive appropriate names. *Honey*, *oil*, *wax*, *pitch*, or the rezinous exudation of trees, would, as being of medicinal use, claim the most early attention. These the Gael denominated *mel*, *ole*, *cer*,† *bigh*. Hence the Latin *mel*, the Greek μελι, the Latin *oleum*, the Greek ελαιον, the Latin *cera*, the Greek κηρος, the Latin *pix*, the Greek πισσα. *Fish* and *birds* would early be used as means of subsistence: the first in Gaelic is *iasg*, in Latin *piscis*; pronounced as *piskis*, it is a compound of *be*, *life* or *food*, *uisg*, *water*; the Greeks said ιχθυς. A *bird* is *ian*; *eoin*, *birds*; the Greeks retained the primitive word in their οιωνος, *a bird*. The dog, *cu*, plural *coin*, *canis*. Columba, *calmian*, a compound of calm, *strong*, and ian, *bird*.

* PLIN. Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 8. sect. 74. See Henry's History.

† The *c* is pronounced like *k*.

TACITUS informs us, that the ancient Germans reckoned only three seasons in the year; that they had no word in their language to express the season of reaping corn and gathering the fruits of the earth. Ammianus Marcellinus, and Cæsar, give the like account of the Hunns and of the Alans.

The ancestors of the Caledonians, or Gael, were, at an early period of their existence, like those ancient nations, ignorant of any appropriate name for the autumnal season; they had no word to express *harvest* as a division of the year. Their year consisted of three seasons: their *spring* they expressed by the word *earre*. In order to understand the radical meaning of this word, it is to be observed, that it is a compound of two words; *ear*, pronounced as if written *er*, which signifies the *east*, and of *re*, *division;* so that *earre* is literally *east division*. We find that the Greeks called the spring ἔαρ, contracted ἦρ, and that it also signified *the morning* or *dawn of day*.

Mankind who lead the life of natural freedom, as yet unacquainted with regulations respecting exclusive property of any kind, are not in hot climates pressed by any urgent motives to pay attention to seasons or divisions of time. The earth presents her boons with that never-ceasing liberality which suffers the primitive societies of mankind to indulge the thoughtlessness and improvidence of their nature. In those regions of

the globe where the sun, that glorious luminary, apparently the source of life and vivifying soul of the universe, varies his benignant influence, he naturally draws forth the earliest attention, and allures the adoration of man. At the approach of this active principle of nature, the torpid earth is inspired with animation, universal gayety attends his course, the splendour of his presence produces hilarity and joy, the earth teems with fruitfulness by the influence of his beams; at his departure, animation pines and sickens, all nature puts on the garb of sadness, those beauties which rose in rich luxuriance to welcome his cheering ray, sink into the bosom of the parent earth, again to spring at the approach of his gladdening presence, emblematic of the ways of God to man. The sun's change of place in the heavens must have early claimed the attention of mankind.

The rising of the sun is an object of great splendour and magnificence. That region of the heavens where the sun commences to shed his benignant influence, got from the Gael the name of *er*. The Greeks used ἦρ, the Latins *ver*, for *the spring season*. *Eri, rising; erich, rise; eri na greane, the rising of the sun.* The Irish spell the word *oir*, which the pronunciation of the Gael of Scotland cannot admit of. *Oriens, ortus*, warrant the same conclusion.

The influence of that luminary being visibly the cause of the springing of plants, the word

which simply denoted the act of his rising, was naturally applied to that season when the sun's influence began to operate on the earth's superficial productions, upon which the sustenance of all animals so much depended.

After spring followed the pleasant division of the year called by the Gael *samhre'*, literally signifying *pleasant division;* hence the term of endearment, *m-shamhsac, my delight, my pleasure; b'shamhas liom, it would give me delight or pleasure:* They say in Ireland, *lucchd ghradhaigheas samh, men that love pleasure.* Neither the Greeks nor Latins retained the use of this word to denote summer: it is obviously, however, the original term which is pronounced *summer* in English; the word was used by the Saxons. This division of the year was terminated among the Gael at the arrival of the cold season or winter, a proof of which remains in the word *samhfin,* which signifies *the end of the pleasant season, oich a shamhfinn, the last night of autumn; la samhfinn* or *samhna,* as it is pronounced in the inflection, is *the first day of winter.* The word is a compound of *samh, pleasure* or *pleasant,* and *fin, end.* The word *fin* is not used now to denote *end,* but *finid,* in English *final,* and *finalt* for *nicely, exquisitely finished,* are common; *alt* signifies *a joint,* and *the mode of doing any thing;* from *fin* is the Latin *finis.*

The next natural division of time was the winter season, which commenced at the *samhfin,*

the end of the pleasant season, and got the name of *the nipping* or *killing season*, *goemhre'*, commonly pronounced *gemhre'*. The Latin *hiems*, and the Greek χειμα, appear to have obvious relation to the Gaelic name; the χειμα approaches nearer to *goemh* or *gemh* than *hiems*.

These were the great divisions of time of our Gaelic ancestors, inhabiting a climate subject to variation of seasons. Whether our earliest progenitors first breathed the air of a torrid or of a temperate clime, it is difficult to determine; but the inventors of the names of the seasons were unquestionably the inhabitants of regions on this side of that division of the earth known by the appellation of the torrid zone. The Gael had no appropriate name for *autumn*, as a division of time. The word *faoghar*, which is now understood to answer the autumnal division of the year, means literally *to search or seek the field*, and *gathering or collecting the produce of the field*.

It was a custom in the Highlands of Scotland, not as yet unknown, for a young married man to repair with horses in the harvest time to the corn fields of his countrymen, for the purpose of getting seed-corn to sow his land, and straw to support his cattle for the first year of his occupancy of land. This was called *faoigh*, and it is known in the language of the low country still by the word *thigging*, which was a species of beggary, though the usage which arose from the common

want of capital in the tenants or occupiers of land sufficient to enable them to stock their possessions, saved this sort of mendicity from the concomitant disgrace and meanness of common beggary. *Faoghed* is the term for *hunting*. The word is literally *searching for food*. The *faoghar* was comprehended in the *samhré* or *pleasant division of the year*, and could not with definite certainty apply to any particular portion of that great and important division. The *faoghed* was a diversion of much hilarity among the Gael. Multitudes of men assembled for the purpose of hunting, in more ancient times, the boar and the wolf, while such were found in the Caledonian forests: after their complete extinction, which was accomplished by premiums given by Government for their destruction, the game that remained to be hunted in this manner were the red and the roe-deer, foxes, wild cats, martins, and pole-cats, but the principal objects were deer. A certain portion of the people assembled, scoured the woods, shouting aloud with modulated cries, while the best marksmen were stationed in particular passes where the game was shot at in the skirts of the woods. Dogs attended and pursued the game in the open grounds along the moors and mountains. A feast terminated the chase; the *Senachi* delivered the tale of other years, and the harp accompanied the vocal music of the bard's song.

The *faoghar* ended with the last night of *samhré* or *summer*, and is called *oicha shamhna; samhf hin* is inflected *samhna* in the genitive, as *amhin* is inflected *amhna, a river; gamhin, gamhna, a sturk.*

In attending to the division of time, the phases of the moon would naturally be used as the means of ascertaining different periods. The most obvious visible signs would most readily be the first employed for that purpose; the full moon would therefore be used very early to mark the period of twenty-eight days, or the first measure of time. We have remarked, that *re* signifies radically *division.* That word was applied to signify *the moon,* implying that she became the means of computation of time. *Re* expresses at this day every division of time, as the division of night, day, month, quarter, year; as, *re na hoich, the division of night; re an la, the division of the day,* &c.

If the moon claimed the earliest notice as a measure of time, the completion of her period must have very early gotten a name. Accordingly we find, that the word by which *month* is expressed is *mias,* which is expressive *of an object of a round figure. A round dish or platter* is called by the same name as month, *mias,* genitive *meis.* The month got that name from the moon's round orb being the visible completion of the lunar month; hence the Greek word μὴς for *month.* The Latin word *mensis* has depart-

ed from the old word, which was pronounced *mesis*, as appears from characters inscribed on old monuments.*

The Latin *annus*, the Greek ἐνιαυτος, *a year*, is derived from the Gaelic *ainn*, also pronounced in the nominative *fainn, a ring* or *orbit*. Of this circumstance the Latin *annulus* furnishes evidence. The period of a year figured in the imagination as the completion of a circle or ring, and hence the word applied to the one came to signify the other. It may here be observed, that the Latin word *circulus* is the Gaelic word *circle* or *cercle*, which signifies a *hoop, zone*, or *girdle*. The Greek word κυκλος is a compound of *cua, round*, and *cul, back; a circle always presenting a round back*. The common word for *year* in Gaelic is *blighan*, from a circumstance of great importance in pastoral life, the return of that season when cattle give milk, *bligh a bho, milk the cow*.

Ratis, Scapha, Navis.

The inhabitants of a country washed by rivers must have been very early acquainted with the use of some machine fit to convey them by water from one side of a river to the other. As wood is

* Gebelin. Monde Primitif, vol. iv. p. 132.

of lighter specific gravity than water, and on that element presents to the eye a floating body, it would readily occur, even to the rudest and most uncultivated beings of the human race, as a proper vehicle for transporting persons or things, to and from places separated from each other by water.

The first of these vehicles was, as may be naturally supposed, of an extremely rude and simple construction. This machine was the *rath* of the Gael, the *ratis* of the Latins, the σχεδια of the Greeks.

Isidorus describes the *rath* of the Gael, when he tells what was understood by the *ratis* of the Latins. *Ratis primum et antiquissimum, genus navigii, e rudibus tignis asseribusq. consertum.* Festus describes them in these words; *Rates vocantur tigna inter se colligata, quæ per aquas agantur.* Machines of the construction described by these ancient authors, are denominated in English, *rafts.* This term implies a machine formed by the junction of trees or beams of wood fit to swim or float on water, when pressed by bodies of greater density, or heavier than water. It may be safely affirmed, that this was the first sort of machine used in navigating the watery element. In Gaelic, the word *rath* was simply and radically applied to signify a *raft*, but it was metaphorically applied to *baile', a town* or *village which was surrounded or guarded by an outward fence;* also it signifies, from a similar idea, *a surety*, or what is called in Scotland, *a cau-*

tioner: A natural transition from the additional security afforded to the swimmer by the use of a wooden machine as a conveyance by water, to the additional surety of the obligation of one man joined with another, for performance of an engagement. With respect to the Greek word it is evident, that the Greeks lost the original appropriate term for *raft;* for it will be observed, that σχέδιος signifies an *extemporary production,* any thing done quickly, without laborious exertion, and simple in construction. This term seems to have been applied, not literally, but metaphorically, to signify *a raft.* The word *cymba,* used also by the Greeks, is not of Gaelic original, so far as we know; but *scapha,* which is also the Greek word σκάφη, seems more naturally to be derived from the *sgo, sga,* or *sgof,* which last the Irish use, than from the Greek verb σκάπτω, which signifies *to dig.* The Gaelic verb *scapadh,* which signifies *to divide, to separate,* is more naturally allied to the Gaelic primitive, as in its motion it divides or separates the water, than the Greek σκάπτω. The Gaelic word denotes *a light slender boat,* such as is called *yawl* in English.

The *navis* of the Latins, and νῆς of the Greeks, bespeak a Gaelic original. In Gaelic, *snamh* signifies *to swim;* the *s* in the beginning of the word is often quiescent, as *do snamh air an linn, to swim on the pool;* here the word *snamh* is pronounced as if written *nav,* hence obviously,

the Latin word *navis*, and the Greek νᾶϋς may be allowed to originate from the same root. *Navis* is a generic term for any vessel that swims on water, and preserves the original meaning of the word whence it is derived, which is applicable to any body that floats or swims on water.

Labour and *industry* are originally produced by necessity, and improved by habit. In a country thinly peopled, where the spontaneous productions of the earth suffice for the maintenance of the inhabitants, there is no existing cause for exciting any continuous exertion of industry. Notions of property, in such a situation of society, will be slender; a sense of right of community of goods, will chiefly regulate ideas of property. As soon, however, as any degree of diligence, assiduity, and skill, is found necessary to be put in practice in the acquisition of food, the human mind universally acknowledges a principle of natural justice. This principle operates without the aid of a reasoning faculty. The occupancy of a subject, which by nature is common, forms a visible connexion between the subject and the occupant; *et potior est conditio occupantis*, is the rule of nature, as well as of the civil law. This visible connexion, which is as instantaneous as sight itself, is strengthened and enforced by the consideration of the application of skill and industry, as necessary means used to procure possession. The connexion thus formed between the

person who bestows his art and industry, and the subject upon which these are bestowed, establishes a notion of exclusive property, and, thenceforward, there is understood an exclusive right of possession in individuals, founded in the general opinion, and enforced by the united strength of the community.

The Greek word κέρδος, and its corresponding Latin word *lucrum*, signify *gain, profit, earning.* These words imply the establishment of a right of exclusive property in individuals; for gain or profit could arise only from the exchange of commodities, which afforded a mutual advantage to the parties, or from a reward for the performance of skill or labour, by the transmission of some subject of use and advantage from one person to another. The word *lucrum* is derived, not from the verb *luo*, but from the Gaelic word *luach*, which signifies *value, price.* From this derivation we may infer, that before the arrival of those strangers who immixed with the more ancient inhabitants of Italy, the establishment of a right of exclusive property in individuals took place, and consequently, that a reward for the performance of skill and labour was understood and enforced as a right. The Greek word κέρδος proves the advancement of the Gael, or the most ancient inhabitants of Greece, in the knowledge and practice of useful and mechanic arts, as a trade or profession. *Ceaird* in the Gaelic language signifies any *particular manual employ-*

ment; ceard signifies an *artificer* or *refiner* of *metals*, as *orcheard*, a goldsmith. *Ceard* is commonly applied to a tinker as a worker in metals; any forge where metal is shaped or made into form is called *ceardach*. The art of manufacturing metals being held in the highest esteem, the forger or operator in metals got the name of *the artist*, κατ' ἐξοχήν, or by way of eminence; and although all manual employments were denominated *ceaird*, yet no artificer was called *ceard* but a worker in metals. Hence, the original Gaelic word modified by the introductors of a new language into Greece, was retained to express *gain* or *profit*, which, by a natural metonymy, was applying the name of the art from whence gain or profit arose, to signify the gain or profit which was the produce of the art itself. It may be observed, however, that a smith is not called *ceard*; the word was applied to a forger of gold, silver, or brass, and not of iron, a metal whose use and value was not so early discovered as were those of the other metals. We submit it to be a fair conclusion, that prior to the arrival of those strangers, who carried along with them a new language, of which and of the language of the more ancient inhabitants, that known by the name of the Greek language was composed, the ancient inhabitants had arrived at a considerable degree of knowledge of useful arts, which may, we apprehend, be reasonably inferred from the use of a term that denoted a forger and polisher of

metals, who was held in high estimation, as producing works deemed eminently useful and greatly instrumental to the convenience of society.

Marriage.

Marriage is an institution which is founded in nature. The natural union of the sexes produces not necessarily that permanence of connexion which is denominated *marriage* among civilized nations. The degree of permanence attached to that institution varies in different climates, and in different stages of society in the same climate. It is governed by ideas of policy, enforced by the sanction of religious duty. The definition of marriage as given in the civil law, points out the natural foundation of the union in the words *maris et feminæ conjunctio.* To a mere natural man it required no further description of its properties; but to describe the institution as established among men possessed of exclusive property, the preservation or the increase of which require the joint care of a male and female having a common mutual interest in making provision for themselves and their common offspring or family, the definition must include other circum-

stances of mutual importance; and therefore it justly adds, *consortium omnis vitæ, divini ac humani juris communicatio.* It consists not only of the natural conjunction of a male and female, it is also a partnership in life, and a communication of all laws or rights, human and divine.

A superstitious attachment to imaginary deities has been found to prevail universally among mankind, in the earliest stages of society. Religious opinions, from whatever source derived, were, by the policy of statesmen, in superstitious ages, ever used as instruments for giving stability to civil institutions of the first importance, influencing mankind to submit to rules of regular polity and social order.

Marriage was one of those early institutions, where the civil union was cemented by an equal union of religious interests: The observance of the civil duties prescribed by that institution, entitled both parties to the favour and protection of the superior deities, who were the objects of their adoration and worship. The definition of the Roman law may therefore be admitted to apply justly to that institution, as established among all nations acquainted with the right of possession and enjoyment of exclusive property.

Cecrops is said to have introduced marriage into Attica. Before his time it is said, that the Athenians had no idea of conjugal union; that the children who were the offspring of the irregular commerce of the sexes, not knowing who

were their fathers, knew only their mothers, whose names they bore. This account of the condition of the sexes is consistent with a fabulous story told of the contention which took place between Minerva and Neptune respecting the name of the city of Athens, when Cecrops began to build the walls by which it was to be surrounded. Cecrops, in order to decide this important business, assembled all his subjects, women as well as men, for the women enjoyed in common with the men a right of suffrage in all public deliberations. The point in dispute, it is said, was carried in favour of Minerva by a majority of one voice, which was that of a woman. That the exercise of such rights may have been understood, by the usage of the people of Greece at some remote period of their history, to belong to the female sex, is not improbable; as we have well authenticated accounts of such practices having prevailed amongst the ancient inhabitants of Europe. A wise legislator in making regulations, whether of a political or civil nature, will pay regard to the opinions and manners of the people who are to be affected by them. It will appear, that in Cecrops' time the women in Attica had lost their political importance. Neptune having been offended at the preference given to Minerva, had ravaged Attica by a great flood of water. In order to appease the angry deity of the watery element, it was resolved by the Athenian people, that for the

future women should not be admitted into the assemblies of the people, and that no child should henceforward be permitted to bear the name of the mother but that of the father. That a prince of the name of Cecrops may have arrived at great power and respect among the Athenians, and that he may have framed different regulations respecting institutions both political and civil, there can be no reason for calling in question; but that by his authority the influence of the female sex was at once subverted, and the union of the sexes, which, prior to his time, is said to have been promiscuous and irregular, was at once rendered the conjugal union of one male and one female, are relations of important facts not consistent with the influence of inveterate habits and usages, which are to be abolished, not by the sudden dictates of stern authority, but by a gradual alteration of opinions and manners, which take place among a people from a change of external circumstances, to which they find it agreeable to convenience, prudence, and wisdom, to bend and accommodate themselves. For this change, then, the Athenian people were, in the time of Cecrops, prepared by the circumstances of their situation in society.

" Before Cecrops, if we may believe traditions " very generally received in the polished ages, " the people of Attica were, in knowledge and " civilization, below the wildest savages disco- " vered in modern times. The most necessary

"arts, and the most indispensable regulations of "society, were unknown to them. Marriage was "introduced by Cecrops; the culture of corn is "said to have been of later date. But the colo- "nies from Egypt, Phœnicia, and Thrace, quick- "ly made the Atticans a new people. At a pe- "riod far beyond connected history, we find all "the principal oriental tenets and maxims of "society firmly established among them. Mar- "riage was a high honour; virginity respectable; "infidelity in a wife deeply disgraceful; poly- "gamy unknown, but concubinage for a hus- "band as lawful as it was common; bastardy no "stain upon children; divorces little heard of."*

Whether Cecrops was a native Greek or an Egyptian, is an unsettled point among the learned. We learn from the respectable testimonies of Herodotus and Thucydides, that the Athenians were very early a mixed people. The belief of Gods and the practice of religious ceremonies, were, in the time of Herodotus, so similar both in Egypt and in Greece, that early emigrations of Egyptian colonies into Greece could not be entertained as a matter of doubt by the venerable historians of that country. We learn from them, that Attica was that province of Greece in which the earliest progress was made towards civilization. The situation of Attica was rendered strong by nature; its form was nearly penin-

* MITFORD'S History of Greece, ch. i. sect. 3.

sular: The security which the natives derived from the natural barriers which it presented against invasion, drew towards it a conflux of inhabitants from other parts of Greece. This state of superior population required industry to support it. The soil being barren and rocky, rendered laborious exertion more necessary; and consequently regulations respecting the security of exclusive property must have taken place very early in that Athenian province of Greece;* and marriage, which is an institution strictly connected with exclusive property, must have been very early subjected to definite rules regulating the conduct and ascertaining the condition of the sexes. At what period of time Egyptian or Phœnician colonies first visited Greece, and mixed with the ancient inhabitants, is a fact with regard to which historical record affords no satisfaction. We cannot, however, admit, that before the arrival of such colonies the more ancient inhabitants were inferior in knowledge and civilization to the wildest savages discovered in modern times; on the contrary, we are of opinion, that a portion of the more ancient inhabitants migrated westward in the pastoral state of society, and therefore were acquainted with the usages known commonly to prevail among mankind in that progressive stage of social existence. Among such, the institution

* Thucyd. l. i. c. 2.

of marriage is found to prevail under different modifications, according to the circumstances of their condition. The union of the sexes may be said to be either an object of mere passion, or of simple convenience, or of passion and convenience united: When it comes to be established as an institution, it is subjected to rules, and receives a name different from the mere congress of irregular passion. This name proves the establishment of a connexion of a more permanent nature, which is calculated to procure the gratification of convenience and passion united. The agricultural mode of life seems best adapted to connect most closely parents and children. The children are continually affording aid, and contributing to the support of the family; the interests of parents and children are linked together; attachments gather strength by mutuality of good offices. How far the more ancient inhabitants of Attica were advanced in agricultural knowledge, we will not pretend to offer any conjecture; that, however, they were, before the days of Cecrops, acquainted with the institution of marriage, the Gaelic and Greek languages furnish what we deem satisfactory evidence. The Greek language expresses a married man or husband by two words, γαμετης and ποσις. The first is not Gaelic, and may be supposed to be the word introduced by the Egyptian or Phœnician colonies who mixed with the ancient inhabitants; the other is Gaelic: *Pos* is *to marry; posam, I*

marry; posadh, marriage; and *posda* is *married.* It is curious to observe, that neither the Latins, the Welsh, nor the Armoricans, have preserved that most ancient word for marriage; it is known only among the Gael of Scotland and Ireland, who never had any communication with the Greeks who might have visited the island of Albion or Britain. παις in Greek signifies *a male* or *female child;* so does *paisd* in Gaelic bear the same signification.

Rota. Cuneus.

That all those mechanical arts which are considered among a refined people to be necessary towards rendering life in a tolerable degree comfortable, were known to the Gael, and practised by them in any high degree of perfection before the Romans became acquainted with them in the island of Britain, we will not take upon us to affirm. That, however, they had acquired a considerable degree of knowledge of the most necessary and useful mechanical arts, while they were as yet the only inhabitants of that country which in after times became so illustrious in the annals of history, we think may be admitted, without being subject to the charge of forming a rash

conclusion, unsupported by evidence sufficient to obtain any degree of credit. Among the proud epithets of *Victores Orbis*, and *Rerum Domini*, which the Romans bestowed on themselves, we find that they esteemed their Trojan descent as matter of renown, *antiqua Teucrorum stirpe creati.* How far their belief of a Trojan extraction was founded in truth, it is not easy to ascertain. Their traditionary accounts may, however, be entitled to credit, so far as to intimate opinions held by their learned men, with respect to the arrival of a foreign people of a different race from the more ancient inhabitants of Italy. These eastern emigrants, who mixed with the ancient inhabitants, introduced the knowledge of a language, of institutions, arts, and usages, with which the more ancient inhabitants were unacquainted. The superior knowledge of the former in those arts and institutions which are understood to meliorate the condition of mankind, excluded not that vanity and admiration which the human mind more fondly indulges in heroic ages, in tracing descent from an illustrious ancestry, the Romans were proud to ascribe their virtues and renown to a race of people rendered conspicuous in the traditionary memorials of ancient story.

Before the arrival of those eastern strangers, who might be supposed to have imported new lights into Italy, and to have improved the state and condition of its ruder inhabitants, we have

reason to be of opinion, that these, however, were not destitute of a knowledge of institutions and arts of the first necessity to political society.

Of the five principal mechanical powers, or simple machines, the Romans were indebted for the names of two of them, at least, to the Gaelic language. The *wedge* is called in Gaelic *geim*; the Latins, in place of saying *geimius*, pronounced *cuneus*; and the *roth* of the Gael, which signifies *wheel*, they formed into *rota*. The use of these words prove, that the invention of the mechanical powers so denominated was known to the ancient inhabitants of Italy before the arrival of those eastern people, who moulded the more ancient language of Italy, so far as it was retained by them, into a shape and fashion more agreeable to the genius and flexion of the language spoken by themselves.

That the knowledge of the wheel and axle was familiar to the Gael, is put beyond the possibility of doubt, by the testimonies of all the ancient Roman and Greek writers who give account of the Roman military transactions in Britain. By these historians the chariots of the Britons are described by the following names: *Benna*, *petoritum*, *currus* or *carrus*, *covinus*, *essedum*, and *rheda*.

Arithmetic.

"We have very little intelligence about the ori-
"gin and invention of Arithmetic; history nei-
"ther fixes the author nor the time."*

Knowledge of numbers could merit the name of science only among a people who had made considerable progress in those arts which administer to the conveniences and comforts of life.

Mankind must have had very early occasion to communicate to one another intelligence of numbers. The first operations of the human mind in forming the elementary basis of the science of arithmetic, it may be deemed impossible precisely to ascertain. The means, however, originally used by man's inventive genius in the formation of this necessary art, are not altogether so much enveloped in darkness as to exclude every ray of light. We can hardly conceive any portion of the human race to be placed so much on a level with the brute creation, and so destitute of those powers and faculties which we find the least instructed part of the human species to possess in civilized society, as not to

* Chalmers' Dictionary, *voce* Arithmetic.

be able to form an idea of an assemblage of units, more or less limited in quantity or number.

We find that all nations, even the most rude and simple, are acquainted with names to denote numbers. To form a distinct idea of a unit, or of an assemblage of units, must precede the existence of the art of counting in the most limited degree. To assign names to the ideas so formed, was making a most important acquisition of means to be employed in forming the scale which leads to the perfection of arithmetical science. To express a unit, or a definite quantity or assemblage of numbers, by distinct and appropriate names, was the first effort of inventive genius, in laying the basis of the science of arithmetic.

The scale of computation would, among a rude people, be very limited and imperfect. Every distinct object, however, must naturally produce in the mind an idea of unity; an assemblage of objects, distinctly perceived, would naturally produce an idea of different unities, which, when moving together, as a herd of deer, a flock of birds, a body of men, would necessarily raise in the mind an idea of quantity or number. Particular modifications of sound denoting a unit, and definite combinations of units, may be presumed to have been nearly coeval with the elementary sounds which form the basis of language.

The operation of numeration would most naturally, at first, be carried on by means of the fingers. As it is certain that rude tribes of mankind

use much gesture to supply the want of language, it is natural to suppose, that mankind universally, in a rude state, made use of their fingers as signs of numbers, by referring to them, pointing to them separately, or exhibiting them in certain positions, before names were invented to denote numbers to the amount of the fingers of one or of both hands. If, then, the fingers were originally used, as the readiest and most natural signs of arithmetical calculations, it is natural to conclude, that such calculations would, in the infancy of the art, be carried on by *fives*, and not by *tens*. The truth of this conclusion may be supposed to be entirely beyond the reach of any species of evidence that can afford even a small degree of satisfaction to the mind.

A penury of ideas and scantiness of expression are natural concomitants. The knowledge of a a rude, compared with that of a civilized people, must be very limited. The scale of computation of numbers would, like all other arts known to a rude people, be extremely circumscribed and imperfect. We have accounts of nations who have no distinct names for numbers beyond *three*.* That very ingenious and learned author, M. Goguet, is of opinion, that the ten fingers of a man's hands furnished the first species of instrument for counting numbers. This opinion he fortifies by the usage of all civilized nations. He ob-

* GOGUET, Arithmetique.

serves, that the Greeks originally counted by *fives*, and that, according to the authority of Plutarch and the lexicographers, the Greeks, for the words *to count* or *to calculate*, had no other term than πεμπαζειν, which literally signifies *to count by fives*.

That the fingers were very early used as instruments of numerical computation, cannot be doubted. Although we find, that many rude nations have assigned no distinct names for numbers regularly to the extent of the number of the ten fingers of one's hands, but that their scale of numeration was limited to *three*, *four*, or *five*; yet it is certain, that among nations advanced in civilization, and living in a state of society where the energies of the human mind have been called into exertion by those new objects and varied circumstances which arise from commercial intercourse, distinct names have ever been found to be appropriated to all the numbers of which the fingers consist.

Arithmetic is said to have passed from Asia into Egypt, where it was cultivated and improved: That from Egypt the Greeks derived their knowledge of that science: That from the Greeks it was transmitted with great improvements to the Romans, by whom it was communicated to the European nations.

If the Greeks derived their knowledge of arithmetic from the Egyptians, it is to be presumed that they would, either in part or in whole, have

adopted the names which the Egyptians had used to express the different numbers of which their scale consisted.

That the Greeks were indebted to the Egyptians for their improvement in arithmetical science, as well as in other arts and sciences, authors of the best credit have afforded sufficient testimony. That, however, the Greeks derived the rudiments of the science of arithmetic from Egypt, we offer our reasons for not admitting.

At what period of time the Greeks had their earliest communication with the Egyptians, it is, we believe, impossible to ascertain. One proposition, however, we will venture to maintain, that if the Egyptians and the earliest inhabitants of Greece were not the same people, identified by language and manners, the inhabitants of Greece were in a considerable degree acquainted with the science of numbers before they had any intercourse with the Egyptians.

Among the many proofs which the Greek and Roman languages furnish, that the Gael were progenitors of the Greeks and Romans, the Greek, Latin, and Gaelic names for numbers, the regular series and order of the appropriate numerical terms as used in each language, the mode of computation to the greatest extent of those numerical appropriate terms, concur in establishing the original identity of the earliest inhabitants of those countries known in latter times by the names of Greece and Italy.

The similarity of the words used to denote arithmetical numbers by the Greeks, Romans, and Gael, furnishes matter of curious remark, and tends forcibly to establish the truth of the proposition, that the Gael were in possession of the names, and had practised the use of all the arithmetical numbers known to the Greeks and Romans, while the Gael were as yet the unmixed inhabitants of Greece and Italy.

Let the names of the Greek and Latin numbers be compared with those of the Gaelic and Welsh languages. We shall take the neuter gender of the learned languages.

	Gaelic.	*Latin.*	*Greek.*	*Welsh.*
1.	Aon.	Unum.	Ἑν.	Un.
2.	Do *or* da.	Duo.	Δύο.	Dau.
3.	Tri.	Tria.	Τρία.	Tri.
4.	Cether.	Quatuor.	Τέσσαρα, *Att.* Τέτταρα.	Peduar.
5.	Cua-ec coec.	Quinque.	Πέντε *or* πέντι.	Pimp.
6.	Sia.	Sex.	Ἕξ.	Chuech.
7.	Sechc.	Septem.	Ἑπτα.	Sailh.
8.	Ochc.	Octo.	Ὀκτω.	Uilh.
9.	Naogh.	Novem.	Ἐννια.	Nau.
10.	Dec.	Decem.	Δεκα.	Deg.
11.	Aondec.	Undecim.	Ἑνδεκα.	Un ar deg.
12.	Dodec *or* Dadec.	Duodecim.	Δωδεκα.	Dau deg.
13.	Tridec.	Tredecim.	Τρισκαιδεκα.	Tri ar deg.
14.	Cetherdec.	Quatuordecim.	Δεκατεσσαρες.	Peduar ar deg.

	Gaelic.	*Latin.*	*Greek.*	*Welsh.*
15.	Cuaeodec.	Quindecim.	Δεκαπεντε.	Pim deg.
16.	Siadec.	Sedecim.	Εκκαιδεκα.	Un ar pim deg.
17.	Sechcdec.	Septendecim.	Επτακαιδεκα.	Dau ar pim deg.
18.	Ochcdec.	Octodecim.	Οκτωκαιδεκα.	Dau nau.
19.	Naoghdec.	Novemdecim.	Εννεακαιδεκα.	Peduar ar pim deg.
20.	Fighid.	Viginti.	Εικοσι.	Ygen.

The similarity of the names used to denote numbers, as expressed in these four languages, is obvious. It may, however, be said, that no conclusive argument can thence be drawn, that the Gaelic language furnished the original radical words by which these numbers were expressed. On the contrary, it may be argued, that as the Latin language is a dialect of the Greek, to this language the Latin was indebted for the names of numbers; and that from the Romans the ancient Britons, and consequently the Gael of Scotland and Ireland, derived their names for arithmetical numbers.

It would be rash to admit this view of the matter, even if the Gaelic language itself did not afford the most satisfactory internal evidence of the truth of our proposition.

The most natural and obvious signs of numbers are the fingers, and, as already observed, numeration *by fives* appears to be the method most natural to be put in practice among a simple people, whose conceptions of arithmetical computation must be confined within narrow limits.

Accordingly we find, that numeration *by fives* was actually the method practised by the Gael prior to their invention of names for the numbers of a more extended scale of computation. What the meaning of the four first names used for the numbers 1 2 3 4, was, or from what source arose the different articulation and modification of their sounds, we must acknowledge our entire ignorance. The word denoting the number *five*, however, is clearly a compound of two Gaelic words, *cua* and *ec*, the one signifying *round*, and the other *a nick* or *notch*.* These two words inform us, that when the fingers were used as the signs of numbers, at the completion of every number *five* the fingers were drawn inwardly towards the palm of the hand, by which operation the hand assumed a round form or shape, which exhibited a visible sign of the completion of the number *five*; and as the

* In Gaelic all words beginning with *cua* are expressive of *roundness*; as *cual, a bundle of sticks* or *fagots*; *cuan, the ocean*; hence the Greek ωκεανος, and the Latin *oceanus*, as it appears to be bounded by the horizon, which to the eye forms a circle: *Cualean, a mode of tying the hair round the head: Cuach, a round wooden cup*; Cuart, *circuit*, κυκλος, composed of *cua, round*, and *cul, back, a circle which presents in all positions a round back, summitas in curvamine arcus*. The *circulus* of the Latin is the *circul* or *cearcul* of the Gael, which is used to signify *a hoop, zone*, or *girdle*; *cua rinn cruinn, round*; hence, *corona*, κορωνα, *cuartag, an eddy wind* or *whirlpool*, &c. *Cuairtghao, Circium* of the Gauls, as pronounced by the Romans, &c.

people were ignorant of the art of characterizing numbers by written figures, they made a nick or notch in a piece of wood, to serve as a permanent sign of the number *five*. Having run over the fingers of one hand, they again commenced a similar operation on the fingers of the other hand, and when arrived at the completion of the second number *five*, a second nick or incision was made, which denoted the number *ten*. Accordingly it is curious to find, that in the Gaelic language the number *ten* is a compound of two words, *do* and *ec*, which literally signify *two nicks*. After having arrived at the decimal number, they said *aondec*, which is *one ten*, but literally expresses *one two nicks*.

The etymon of eight of the ten numbers we cannot satisfactorily trace, but the numbers *five* and *ten* are significant compounds, as above explained.

We were favoured by a very learned and respectable author,* with the perusal of a letter to him from Mr Thorkelin, on the subject of the Icelandic and Greenland languages, who says, "They have only five numerals, for instance, "attaniek, *one*; arlek, *two*; pinganjreak, *three*; "siffamat, *four*; tellimat, *five*. They count on "their fingers, and when they come to *six*, they "say, *again one, again two*, &c. Beginning with "the eleventh, they say, *again one of the toes of* "*the right foot*, &c. and arriving at sixteen, use

* Lord MONBODDO.

"is made of, *again one of the toes of the left foot.* "Thus they count *twenty*, which they call *a* "*whole man;* forty, *two men;* sixty, *three men,*" &c.

Beyond *ten* the Greeks and the Romans, regularly preserving the Gaelic mode of numeration, the Greeks less so, (in their numbers *fourteen, fifteen,* they said *ten-four, ten-five,*) prefixed in their order the numbers *one, two,* &c. to the number *ten,* till they arrived at the number *twenty;* for which they all had a word of a different construction and termination from the other numbers, all of which comprehended, and articulately expressed the number *ten.*

By attending to the different words expressing the numerals, as used by the Greeks and Romans, compared with those of the Gael, it is evident that the Romans departed least from the original language.

If the Gael were the earliest inhabitants of the country of Greece, and that they had not suffered a total extermination, traces of their language would naturally remain among the mixed inhabitants of that country. Accordingly we find, in the languages of both ancient Greece and Italy, the most satisfactory proof of two facts; 1*st,* That in both countries a foreign people had immixed with the original inhabitants; 2*dly,* That those foreigners had not only introduced new words, but altered the modification and pronunciation of the language of the

natives; and in place of following the mode of inflection of the original language of the ancient inhabitants, they accommodated the old language to the genius and inflection of their own language; and this was chiefly done by adding the common terminations of the words of their own language to the retained words of the old inhabitants. Hence the Latins, in place of adhering simply to the *cuaec* of the Gael, added *ue* to the original word, and softened *cuaecue* into *quinque*. Instead of *sechcem*, they said *septem*; *ochco* they pronounced *octo*; *naogh*, (the *gh* are pronounced like *y* in the English *yon*, *yonder*, *yes*, &c.) instead of saying *noyem*, they pronounced *novem*; and to *dec* they added the termination *em*, which makes *decem*. It is unnecessary to observe, that the letter *c* was pronounced like *k* by the Latins.

The word denoting *twenty* is also the Gaelic word *fighid*; to this word they added the vowel *i*, and softened the pronunciation of *fighidi* into *viginti*. The *f* and *v* are commutable letters. The same mode of pronunciation is observable in the word *ced*, which signifies a *hundred*. In place of saying *cedum* or *cetum*, (the letters *d* and *t* are commutable) they introduced the liquid consonant *n*, and pronounced *centum*. To the word *mil*, which signifies a *thousand* in Gaelic, they added the vowel *e*, and pronounced *mille*.

We have, as noticed in another place, the testimony of Herodotus, that in his time a barbarous

language was spoken in a part of the country which was latterly comprehended in the general name of Greece, which language none of the Greeks understood. As the people of Crestona and Plaćia remained unmixed, they preserved, it may be presumed, the ancient language of the whole country; while the old language of the other parts of Greece had undergone such alterations by the influx of strangers, as to alter materially its form and structure, and render it unintelligible to the remnant of the ancient inhabitants. Whether this change was produced by emigrations from Egypt or from Asia Minor, it is not easy to ascertain. It is certain, however, that it was received as traditionary history by the best informed Greek authors, that the Pelasgians, who were an Asiatic people, had passed the Hellespont, and immixed themselves with the ancient inhabitants of the countries known by the names of Macedonia, Thrace, Mæsia, Illyria, Greece and Italy, on both sides the Adriatic Sea, and the countries as far west as the Alps. In all these countries the Greek language, or dialects of that language, were spoken, long prior to the existence of any written historical accounts of Greece. Thessaly was particularly denominated *Pelasgia;* which name was understood also in the sense of some authors to apply to all Greece. A matter of fact which proves, that at some remote period, of which history furnishes no distinct account, a numerous people, speaking a copious, improved and

cultivated language, and acquainted, it may be fairly inferred, in a considerable degree, with those arts which characterize an ingenious and civilized people, had spread over these countries, had penetrated into Greece and Italy, and, with their language, communicated to the ancient inhabitants, in a higher degree of perfection, knowledge of the arts of life, and quickened their progress towards that stage of society, in which the relative duties which mankind owe to each other, and their intellectual and moral faculties, are in the most distinguished manner developed and put in practice.

It may be admitted, that the Greeks were much indebted to the Egyptians for their improvement in arts and sciences. This may be presumed from their intercourse with Egypt, a country whose inhabitants had very early arrived at a high pitch of civilization, and were so supereminent in the estimation of very ancient nations for their knowledge in arts and sciences, that to be skilled in the learning of the Egyptians was deemed the highest perfection of wisdom.

That the Greek language, however, had derived its origin, form, and structure, from Egyptian colonies, is a proposition which appears not to receive support from the natural progress of the population of Europe, and its relative situation with respect to that eastern portion of the

globe which first exhibited the existence of great states and empires.

That Asia Minor, if not the first country whose inhabitants had arrived at a high state of improvement and civilization, had in very ancient times risen to eminence as a seat of inquiry and literature, is admitted by the learned.* Its vicinity to that portion of European territory, which, at an early period, a great body of people speaking the Greek language inhabited; the intercourse which, from the relative situation of the countries on both sides of the Hellespont, would naturally take place between the inhabitants of each; the easy transition of the inhabitants of the one into the other country,—are circumstances which leave no room for doubt, that migrations from Asia Minor into Europe took place long prior to the establishment of cities, or to a knowledge of that more complicated polity, the natural result of the increase of population, which makes it not only expedient but necessary for a pastoral people to quit their wandering mode of life, and betake themselves to the cultivation of those arts which render the earth more productive, and secure means of subsistence proportioned to the greater multiplication of the human species.

The sweetness of climate and fertility of soil of Asia Minor, were favourable to an early in-

* See TIEDEMAN on the Spirit of Speculative Philosophy.

crease of population, and consequently to the more early organization of civil society. The situation of the inhabitants of that delightful country, with respect to commercial intercourse with the old nations of the east and south, favoured the communication of intelligence of the arts and sciences known to them; thence is to be deduced the more early establishment of political liberty, and the more early existence of a spirit of literary and philosophical inquiry in Asia Minor than in Europe.

Such a fund of universal knowledge and multiplied ideas as was possessed by and influenced the manners of the people of that Asiatic country, was retained through the medium of those conventional significant signs which were communicated to the mind by a highly improved and copious language. To that Asiatic people is chiefly, if not wholly due, the honour of having reared that admirable monument of art, which has so eminently raised the reputation of the capabilities of the human mind,—the Greek language.

To the communication of this language, and to the intercourse of the people by whom it was spoken with the ancient inhabitants of those countries lying immediately to the westward of the Hellespont, are to be ascribed the more early improvements in civilization, arts and sciences, of the inhabitants of Greece, and afterwards of those of Italy, than of the inhabitants of any other parts of the European quarter of the globe.

An improved language is, in the case of an unmixed people, the spontaneous fruit of many ages. The progress of society in the acquisition of new ideas, is slow and imperceptible. The same observation applies to language. The space of time required in the formation of such a wonderful fabric of art as the Greek language, admits not of any precise calculation. It may however be affirmed with safety, that a highly refined and copious language furnishes an indubitable test of a refined people possessing, in a high degree, knowledge of most important truths, respecting the operations of the physical and moral world.

Indian tribes of America, living in the vicinity of English settlers, may, in the course of time, by means of commercial intercourse, or settlements made among them, acquire a knowledge and adopt the use of the English language, prior to their complete adoption of the manners of the more civilized English people. It is impossible, however, that a composition of so much art as a copious and refined language exhibits, could have grown up among any people with that rapidity which the mind is capable of displaying in the acquisition of a foreign language.

Although it may be admitted, that the Greeks at the time of the Trojan war spoke the Greek language in a state of high perfection, it cannot be reasonably thence concluded, that it was the production of the Grecian people living in that state of society represented in the works of Homer;

consequently, the formation and perfection of that language ought to be ascribed to a nation as far advanced in the knowledge of arts and sciences, as were the Greeks perhaps at any period of their history.

" La Grece," says Condorcet, " avoit recu des " peuples de l'Orient leurs arts, une partie de " leurs connoissance, l'usage de l'ecriture al- " phabétique, et leur systeme religieux ; mais " c'etoit par l'effet des communications etablies " entre elle et ces peuples, par des exilès, qui " avoient cherché un asile dans la Grece, par des " Grecs voyageurs, qui avoient rapporté de " l'Orient des lumieres et des erreurs :" " Cepen- " dant ces memes hommes cultivoient avec suc- " ces la geometrie et l'astromonie. La Grece leur " dut les premieres elemens de ces sciences, et " meme quelques veritès nouvelles, ou du moins " la connoissance de celles qu'ils avoient rappor- " tées de l'Orient, non comme de croyances eta- " blies, mais commes des theories, dont ils con- " noissoient les principes et le preuves."*

Letters, it is said, were introduced into Greece by Cadmus about fifteen hundred years before the Christian era. The population of Greece was so great, and their knowledge of the arts of life so considerable, four or five centuries before the Trojan war, which happened about twelve hun-

* Esquisse d'un Tableau Historique de Progres de l'esprit Humain.

dred years before the Christian era, that a certain portion of the people practising various mechanic arts, had in different parts of Greece concentrated into collective bodies, by fixing their residence in towns or cities, for the mutual benefit and accommodation of themselves and of the productive occupants of the soil, which was to furnish the means of subsistence for the whole body of the people in the several departments of their social intercourse; yet, it is to be observed, that even at the time of the Trojan war, that memorable epoch of Grecian story, the Greeks exhibited not a picture of refined manners; a mixture of generous heroism and vindictive barbarity formed the prominent feature of their character, which raises in the mind a mixed sensation of admiration and regret. It is hardly to be doubted, that at that period the Greek language was spoken in Greece in a high state of perfection. Homer, according to the received opinion, saw the grandchildren of the Grecian heroes of the Trojan war. That the Greek language had in his time arrived at the completion of its beauties and excellence, is evinced by the admirable works of his transcendent genius: hence it may be inferred, that although a learned Asiatic people had communicated, at a much earlier period, their language to the Greeks, the state of society of the latter had for ages afterwards, in whatever degree the introduction of Asiatic manners and language might have soft-

11155A

ened the fierceness and barbarity of the rude inhabitants of Greece, repelled a total assimilation of Grecian and Asiatic manners.

Whether the names of the numerals, as now used by the descendants of the Gael, were known to their remote ancestors, while as yet an Asiatic people, is a matter that lies too much hidden in the darkness of primeval antiquity to be at this present time brought forth into light. But that the names of numbers, as already noticed, are of Gaelic original, and were retained and modified by the refined Greeks and Romans, is a proposition, the truth of which we apprehend to be evinced by the internal evidence furnished by the Gaelic names applied to the numerals, and by their wonderful affinity to those used and spoken by the Greeks and Romans.

It may be remarked as curious, that the Welsh, Armorican, and Cornish dialects of the Gaelic language, have preserved the most ancient Greek name for the number *five*. The first say *pimp*, the two latter express *pemp*, for *five*. For *six* the Welsh say *chuech*, the Cornish said *huih*, the Armoricans use *huech*. It may be observed, that the words used by these descendants of the ancient Gael, to denote the numeral *six*, is but a corruption of the original *cuaec*, invented by their earliest progenitors to signify the number *five*. The word *pemp*, it is probable, was not unknown at the same time that the term *cuaec* was used to denote *five;* this last term being

descriptive of the hand as formed into a round shape, at the completion of the number *five* counted on one hand, and was a visible sign of that number; a nick or notch being made, as above explained, to notify the number of *fives* of which the subject of numeration consisted. Although the Welsh, Armorican, and Cornish dialects, which have suffered great corruptions by a mixture of other languages with the original Gaelic, have misplaced the original word significantly denoting the number *five*, they have all regularly retained the significant original term expressive of the number *ten* or *dec*, importing literally, *two nicks*. To this significant appellation the Latins added the termination *em*, the Greeks the termination *a*, while the unmixed descendants of the ancient Gael, as well as the Welsh and Armoricans, retained, in original simplicity, the radical words *do* or *da* and *ec*, abridged *dec*, to signify the number *ten*.

If the names of the numerals had been communicated to the ancient Britons by the Romans, the former would have followed the Roman names for numbers, with attention sufficient to demonstrate the Roman language to be the source whence they derived their names for numbers, by a regular adoption of the Roman words, and an observance of the Roman pronunciation, as far as the genius of their language would admit.

The Welsh *peduar*, the Cornish *pedzhar*, the Armoric *pevar*, denoting the number *four*, bear not so near a resemblance to the Latin *quatuor*, as the Gaelic *cether;* yet it may be reasonably presumed, that if the Welsh, Cornish, and Armoricans, who had, for centuries, considerable intercourse with the Romans, had learned their name for the numeral *four* from the Romans, they would have preserved a nearer resemblance to the Roman pronunciation of the Roman word for *four*, than the Gael of Scotland and Ireland, who had no friendly communication of any sort with the Romans in Gaul, or in the island of Great Britain.

That the Greeks used, at some remote period, a word similar to the Gaelic *cether* to denote *four*, may be inferred from the words τετρας and τετρα, used in later times chiefly in compounds.

If the Welsh had derived their elementary knowledge of arithmetic from the Romans, they would have followed the Roman mode of counting at least to the number *twenty*. We find, however, that the Welsh have departed from the original Gaelic, even more than the Greeks and Romans had done in their names for numbers. The Welsh do not say, to express one *ten*, *aondec* of the Gael, *undecim* of the Romans, ενδεκα of the Greeks; they say, *un ar dec, one over ten*, &c.; *fifteen* they express by *pimdec*, without the interposition of the word *ar*, which signifies in Gaelic, *over;* then they say for *sixteen, one over*

fifteen; for *seventeen, two over fifteen.* To express *eighteen,* they say, *two nines; nineteen* they express by *four* over *fifteen;* whereas the mode practised by the Latins appears to be more simple and more perfect, and precisely similar to the mode used by the Gael of Scotland and Ireland. The Cornish and Armoricans expressed the numbers *sixteen* and *seventeen* by *chuedeg* and *seideg,* which, with little variation, are the numbers *fifteen* and *sixteen* of the Gael of Scotland and Ireland. To express *eighteen,* the Armoricans use the word *trihuech,* which signifies *three sixes.* Hence, it is obvious, that neither the Welsh, Cornish, nor Armoricans, followed the Latin terms used by the Romans for expressing numbers, and that they had, in their intercourse with strangers, lost some and misapplied others of the original words used by their Gaelic ancestors to express arithmetical numbers.

The Welsh method of expressing numbers furnishes additional proof of the truth of the proposition, that rude nations count by fives; for, although the Welsh have particular words to denote *six, seven,* &c. yet they combined not these words with *ten* simply, as was done by the Gael and the Romans, and by the English, as *sixteen, seventeen,* but having arrived at the number *five-ten,* they resumed the unit *one,* and said, *one over five-ten,* &c. Had the Welsh been taught the names and use of numbers by the Romans, they would have followed the easier, the more

simple and perfect mode practised by their supposed masters.

The ancient Britons, of whom the Welsh are descendants, were in possession of the knowledge of names for the numerals before the Romans ever visited Britain. The words used in the Gaelic, Welsh, and Armoric languages, to denote *five*, furnish one of many convincing matters of evidence, that at some very remote period the ancestors of the Britons, whom we call Gael, and of the Greeks and Romans, were the same people.

From the similarity of the names of numbers as used by the Gael of Scotland and Ireland, with those of the Romans and Greeks, had either of the former people become subjected to any of the latter nations, it might be said with some appearance of truth, that the Gael of Scotland and Ireland were obliged to the Romans or Greeks for the names of numbers, and for a knowledge of the rudiments of the science of arithmetic; but as neither the Gael of Ireland nor of Scotland had at any period communication with the Greeks, and as Erin or Ireland never became a Roman province, and the Gael of Scotland knew the Romans only as enemies, their knowledge of numbers, and the names by which they expressed the numerals, must be referred to a more remote antiquity than the conquest of any part of Britain, or of even the laying the foundation of that city whence originated the name of Romans.

Upon the present subject the Gaelic language remains a monument of great curiosity. It serves to prove, *first*, That the names by which the Greeks and Romans used to express numbers were the invention of the progenitors of the Gael; *secondly*, It furnishes evidence of the earliest method of calculation practised among the Gael, while as yet an eastern people; and *thirdly*, That the Gael were the common ancestors of the most ancient inhabitants of Greece and Italy.

The English language, though it is a mixture of almost all the European languages, ancient and modern, lends a concurring testimony to the truth of the proposition, that rude nations, in their earliest progress in the art of numeration, used the fingers as the readiest and most natural instruments of arithmetical calculation or manner of reckoning, both visible and tangible to the senses.

What the radical meaning of the word *five*, or the Saxon *fif*, is, we cannot pretend to determine; but the term *ten*, denoting a number equal to *two fives*, appears to be a compound of *twe* and *en*, still used as the pronunciation of *two* and *one* in different parts of Scotland, and also not unknown in the north of England. These words import a numeration by *fives*, and that, at the completion of the number *five*, there was made some mark which denoted *en* or *one five*; at the completion of *two fives*, the progenitors of the Anglo-Saxons said *twe en*, contracted *ten*. In the words *eleven* and *twelve*, *en* and *twe* oc-

cur. What the meaning of *elev* or *elv* was in the Saxon or Gothic languages, we know not; but *elev, elv,* or *elf,* seems to have been a significant word in the original language. The words denoting the rising series of numbers are obvious, *three ten, four ten,* &c. Twenty is a compound of three words, *twe, en, twe; twe en,* signifying *ten* or *two fives,* and *twe,* referring to two additional fives, that is, *ten and two fives;* thirty, *three twe,* or, as pronounced by many of the vulgar in Scotland, *thretie,* imports *three twe fives;* forty, *four twe fives,* &c. We doubt not that the names of the numerals, and the combinations of those names in all languages whose original terms for the numerals are preserved, will support the proposition, that numeration by fives is the most natural mode of reckoning, and the first put in practice by rude nations.

The resemblance between the names of four of the numerals in English and Gaelic is remarkable. *One, two, three,* and *eight* or *aucht,* as pronounced by the low country Scots, bear an evident similarity to *aon, do, tri, ochc,* of the Gael. This circumstance, among others worthy of notice, tends to show an identity of the original stock of both people, whose progress from their eastern primeval country into Europe, necessarily taking different directions along the shores of the Euxine or Black Sea, however much their language might have originally borne marks of identity, must have suffered many variations,

and acquired many additions, in the course of ages. The Asiatic people, in their progressive movements, first separated by a vast expanse of water, and then dispersed over a wide extended territory, covered with many almost impenetrable forests and marshes, intersected by many large rivers, operating as continual causes of separation of their emigrant hordes, naturally acquired distinctive national appellations, and became discriminated too by variations of language. It is not wonderful, then, that supposing the migrating Asiatic people, whether crossing the Hellespont or moving in a different direction along the shores of the Euxine, in their progress towards the great western ocean, were an emanation of the same original stock, to find them, when they met on the banks of the Danube or of the Rhine, speaking different languages, and forming inimical checks upon each other's farther progress. This natural repulsion begot a state of hostility. They were strangers to each other; they were enemies who rose into great rival nations. In this situation they were found by the Romans; and by whatever names they distinguished themselves, whether Gael, Scythians, Goths or Germans, the Gael naturally applied to the more northern people the general appellation of *Tua daoin* or *northern men*, under which name the Romans also comprehended the Germanic people, in their pronunciation of the appellative *Teutones*. Hence the general language of

a great body of the northern European people got the name of *Teutonic.*

Very little light remains to us, says M. Goguet, in the writings of the ancients, respecting the manner in which the Egyptians made their arithmetical calculations. We learn from Herodotus, that the Egyptians made use of small pebbles or stones in their numerical computations. Such were used by the Greeks for the same purposes, as is evident from the word ψηφίζω, which signifies *to calculate,* from the noun ψῆφος, *a pebble* or *little stone.* Our English word *calculate* we derive from the Latin verb *calculo,* which signifies *to calculate, reckon,* or *cast accounts.* The Roman verb refers its origin to the noun *calculus,* which signifies *a pebble* or *little stone,* anciently used in making numerical computations, also in taking suffrages, and used upon a variety of occasions to ascertain numbers. The use of little stones or pebbles as instruments of computation, is very natural to a rude or illiterate people, who are ignorant of the art of notation of numbers, or of characterizing them by permanent definite signs or written figures. Small stones are used in the Highlands of Scotland at this day, as marks or signs of scores or twenties; and there can be no doubt entertained, that such was the practice of our Gaelic ancestors, prior to the introduction of the more artificial languages, the refined Greek and Roman, among them. The radical word is the Gaelic

clach, which signifies *a stone*. *Calculus* is the diminutive of *calx*, which is clearly allied to the Greek χαλιξ, *a flint stone*. *Cuile* is the Gaelic word for *chalk*, which is reckoned a species of stone fossil, where it is not unusual to find the flint stone.

Our English ancestors used tallies in their numerical computations, before the art of writing came into practice. A tally was a stick notched in conformity to another stick, and the word score, which denotes *twenty*, gives us to understand, that as the Greeks and Romans made use of small stones or pebbles to mark certain definite numbers, so our Saxon or English ancestors made a score or incision in a piece of wood, to serve as a permanent sign of the number *twenty*.

That the Egyptians made use of small stones or pebbles as signs of certain definite quantities, and that a similar mode of computation was practised by the Greeks, are circumstances which form no conclusive argument in support of the proposition, that the Greeks were servile imitators of the Egyptians, or had received from them the first rudiments of the arithmetical art.

That the Egyptians may have improved the Greeks in the science of numbers, there appears no reason for calling in question. But we refer to the judgment of the learned the observations offered above, to show that the Greeks derived not their names of numbers from the Egyptians; that, on the contrary, those names were the in-

vention of the Gael, who were the most ancient inhabitants of the countries, which, in the progress of time, came to be distinguished by the names of Greece and Italy.

Paper. Carta.

"The word *paper* is formed from the Greek "πάπυρος, *papyrus*, the name of an Egyptian plant, "called also βίβλος, whereon the ancients used to "write.

"Various are the materials, on which mankind in different ages and countries have contrived to write their sentiments, as on stones, "bricks, the leaves of herbs and trees, and their "rinds or barks; also on tables of wood, wax, "and ivory, to which may be added, plates of "lead, linen rolls, &c." At length the Egyptian *papyrus* was invented, then parchment, then cotton paper, and lastly, the common or linen paper.*

The era from which is to be dated the invention of the art of preparing the plant *papyrus*, for the purpose of receiving written characters, is not ascertained. The learned Varro refers it to no

* Chalmers' Dictionary, *voce* Paper.

earlier age than that of Alexander the Great, after the building of Alexandria. That the plant *papyrus* was known to the Greeks long prior to the building of Alexandria, is put beyond doubt by the testimony of a variety of ancient authors, particularly of Homer and Hesiod;* but it is an admitted fact, that for 200 years after Alexander's time, skins and the barks of trees were used by the Greeks and Romans, as the properest subjects then known to them for retaining written characters.

The era of the invention of manufacturing the plant *papyrus* into paper, has been much disputed. Varro's decision of the matter has been called in question by modern authors, relying on the authority of Pliny. This learned author's words are: "Prius tamen quam degrediamur ab Ægyp-"to, et papyri natura dicetur, cum chartæ usu "maxime humanitas vitæ constet et memoria. "Et hanc Alexandri Magni victoria repertam, "auctor est M. Varro condita in Ægypto, Alex-"andria. Antea non fuisse chartarum usum, in "palmarum foliis primo scriptitatum, deinde quo-"rundam arborum libris. Postea publica monu-"menta plumbeis voluminibus, mox et privata "linteis confici cœpta aut ceris."†

Varro informs us, that prior to the time of Alexander the Great, the use of paper was unknown. Varro, it is evident, and after him

* CHALMERS' Dictionary.

† PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. xiii. cap. 11.

Pliny, applied the word *charta* specially to the paper made of the plant *papyrus*. Before the period when this paper manufacture was invented, we have the authority of Varro, that the Egyptians made use of the leaves of the palm tree, the rinds or barks of certain trees, then of rolls of lead, linen, or wax.

Pliny was of opinion, that Varro's account respecting the period whence ought to be dated the invention of the manufacture of the plant *papyrus* into *charta* or paper, was erroneous. "Ingentia quidem," says Pliny, "exempla contra Varronis sententiam de chartis reperiuntur. Namq. Cassius Hemina, vetustissimus auctor annalium, quarto eorum libro prodidit, Cn. Terentium scribam agrum suum in janiculo repastinantem, ostendisse arcam, in qua Numa, qui Romæ regnavit, situs fuisset. In eadem libros ejus repertos, P. Cornelio, L. F. Cethego, M. Bebio, Q. F. Pamphilo, coss. ad quos a regno Numæ colliguntur anni 535, et hos fuisse e charta. Majore etiamnum miraculo, quod tot infossi duraverunt annis."

Among a variety of facts mentioned to prove the mistaken opinion of Varro, Pliny writes: "Præterea Mutianus ter consul prodidit nuper se legisse, cum præsideret Lyciæ, Sarpedonis a Troja scriptam in quodam templo epistolæ *chartam*."

Melchior Guilandinus, a Prussian physician, wrote a learned commentary on three chapters of Pliny's works relative to this subject, and

shows, from the authority of Greek authors, that the *papyrus* was known to the Greeks before the time of Alexander the Great, but was not then used as paper.

The Egyptian paper was so scarce, even at the time of Tiberius, that its use was dispensed with by a decree of the senate.* "Factumq. jam "Tiberio principe inopia chartæ, ut e senatu da- "rentur arbitri dispensandi."

There can be no doubt, then, that when Pliny mentions the word *charta*, he means the Egyptian paper made of the plant *papyrus*. That Varro used the word in the same sense is equally certain. The annalist Cassius Hemina gave no information, nor stated any opinion, that the paper books found in Numa's tomb were made of the Egyptian *papyrus*; nor can the application of the term *charta* to those books, or to the letters of Sarpedon written from Troy, establish a higher antiquity to the invention of the Egyptian paper than that given to it by Varro.

In what sense the annalist used the word *charta*, with respect to its substance, is not explained. At what time the Romans became first acquainted with the Egyptian paper, is not ascertained. That, however, both the Greeks and Romans were acquainted with different substances, upon which they inscribed written characters, before they had any knowledge of the Egyptian paper,

* PLINY'S Nat. Hist. lib. xiii. c. 13.

is put beyond doubt by the Gaelic, as well as their own improved languages.

It is a fact established beyond the possibility of question, that many nations made use of the barks of trees as paper, or as a substance proper for receiving and retaining written characters. Both the Romans and Greeks preserved the original word for the substance first used by them as paper, to denote in after times the Egyptian paper, to which, after the disuse of the original substance known to them as best fitted for preserving written characters, they applied their original name for that substance, viz. *carta* or *charta*. It is curious to observe, that the Gaelic word for *bark* is *cart; a chart, the bark.* The Latins wrote *carta* and *charta*, the Greeks χαρτη. This circumstance indicates plainly, that the progenitors of the Greeks and Romans at some very early period used the bark of trees as paper, and that they continued the use of that substance for receiving written characters, until they became acquainted with other materials better adapted to the purposes of preserving, by written signs, knowledge of historical events, and of the sentiments of mankind, upon all subjects which claimed the attention of the human mind.

Guilandinus has observed, that Cassius Hemina, the annalist, lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, to whom he dedicated his work: if so, he was posterior in time to Varro, and predeceased Pliny not above seventy years; for *vetustissi-*

mus Guilandinus would therefore read *verissimus*, the other word being inapplicable. Numa was prior in time to Alexander three hundred years: If Cassius Hemina meant that Numa's books consisted of that species of paper which was made of the Egyptian *papyrus*, and that he had seen the books, and was properly qualified to determine the fact with respect to the materials of which they were composed, then Varro must have fallen into a mistake relative to the period of the invention of the manufacture of *papyrus* into writing paper.

Pliny says, that the books were found when C. Cornelius and L. F. Cethegus were consuls, to whose time he reckoned five hundred and thirty-five years from the reign of Numa. If C. Hemina lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, then Numa's books were found about two hundred years before the period when C. Hemina wrote his annals. Tiberius was made Emperor fourteen years before the Christian era, and reigned twenty-six years. The annalist had written from report: it seemed to him matter of surprise, that the books had lasted entire for so long a period as five hundred and thirty-five years. Had he seen the books he would naturally have mentioned that circumstance, and have expressed his wonder, that they had continued entire down to his own time.

Bayle and Moreri are of opinion, that Cassius Hemina lived in the six hundred and eighth year

of Rome, that is, about one hundred and forty-six years before the Christian era, towards two hundred years after the building of Alexandria, and about seventy years before Varro. C. Hemina said that Numa's books, which were found in the manner above-mentioned, were made of the substance which the Romans termed *charta*, and which Pliny understood to be the manufactured *papyrus*. It is, however, by no means certain, that C. Hemina had applied the term *charta* to the Egyptian *papyrus*. The paper which was anciently made of the *liber* was not very easily distinguished from that made of the *papyrus;* and from the fact that bark paper exists at this day, it ceases to be matter of wonder, that it lasted from Numa's time to that of the annalist. Varro's account of the date of the invention of the manufacture of the plant *papyrus* into paper, may be just. It is well known, that both the Egyptian and bark paper have lasted entire for many ages. The annalist seems to have been ignorant of the durable qualities of the one as well as of the other, and it cannot with certainty be concluded, that C. Hemina, in the application of the term *charta* to Numa's books, meant to determine the question afterwards agitated, as to the invention of the manufacture of the plant *papyrus* into that substance called by the Romans *charta*, as peculiarly applicable to the paper made of the plant *papyrus*. The term *charta* was as well known to the early Greeks as to the Romans, and was

used by the first many ages before the days of Alexander the Great. It is sufficient to say, that as the paper made of the fine bark of trees was very like that made of the plant *papyrus*, the Greeks and Romans most naturally applied the same word to both.

The English word *paper*, the French *papier*, bespeak the origin of the term; yet still the original word denoting that species of paper made of the plant *papyrus*, was continued to express indiscriminately the latter inventions of cotton and linen, when manufactured into a substance fit for retaining the impression of written characters, and found to be more eligible for that purpose than the plant *papyrus*.

We can have little difficulty in being of opinion, that Numa's books consisted, not of that exterior or outer bark which in Gaelic is properly denominated *cart*, but of that whitish rind or pellicle, to which, in its most ancient and just acceptation, was applied the name *liber* in the Roman language. It is curious to observe, that the softer part of the wood of trees, which is in contact with the bark, and which most partakes of the nature of bark by its softness, is called *libher* in the Gaelic language. Hence, the Latin word *liber* was applied, not to the outward bark, which, there is reason to believe, was first used for the inscription of written characters, but to the inner or finer bark, which immediately covers the wood of the tree, and may be separat-

ed from the grosser outer bark, and prepared in such a manner as to be rendered fit for receiving and retaining written characters.

" Paper bark," says Mr Chalmers, " if it may " be so called, was only the *liber* or inner whit- " ish rind enclosed between the outer bark and " the wood of diverse trees, as the *maple*, *plain*, " *beech* and *elm;* but especially the *tilia*, φιλυρα, or " *linden* tree, which was that mostly used for " this purpose. On this, stripped off, flatted and " dried, the ancients wrote books, several of " which are said to be still extant. Mabillon " and Monfaucon speak frequently of manu- " scripts and diplomas on bark, and are very " express between the *papyrus* used by the Egyp- " tians, and the *liber* or *bark* in use in other " countries. The two are alleged to differ in this, " that the bark paper was thicker and more " brittle than the *papyrus*, as well as more apt " to cleave or shiver, by which the writing was " sometimes lost, as is the case in a bark manu- " script in the Abbey of St Germains, where the " bottom of the paper remains, but the outer sur- " face, on which the letters had been drawn, is in " many places peeled off. But Maffei, it must " not be forgot, combats the whole system of " bark manuscripts and charters as a popular " error, and maintains, that the ancients never " wrote diplomas on *bark;* that the distinction " between the papers made of *papyrus* and of " *cortex* is without foundation; that the only

" use of the *tilia*, or *linden*, was for making thin " boards or tablets for *diptycha* or pocket-books, " wherein they wrote on both sides, as is done " among us, an advantage which they could not " have in the Egyptian paper, by reason of its " thinness."

It is submitted to the learned, that the very terms used for *paper* and *books* in the Greek and Latin languages, such as *biblos*, *codex*, *liber*, *folium*, *tabula*, *philura*, &c. afford a sufficient refutation of the opinion of this latter learned author. All these words have known significations in the learned languages, and their received significations sufficiently demonstrate their origin.

The Greeks and Romans were ignorant of the origin or derivation of their word χαρτης *charta;* it is preserved, however, in the Gaelic *cart* and *chart*, from whence too is derived the Latin *cortex*. It proves also, that the remote ancestors of the Greeks and Romans wrote on the bark of trees; as does the word *biblos*, that that species of Egyptian plant called *biblos;* the word *tilia*, that the finer bark or inmost rind; and the word *folium*, that the leaves of trees were used for the like purpose.

Servius, on this line of Virgil,

" *Huic natam* LIBRO *et silvestri subire clausam,*"

writes,—" LIBER dicitur interior corticis pars, " quæ ligno cohæret." And again, Ecl. 10. 67.

" *Alta* LIBER *aret in ulmo.*

" Unde et liber dicitur, in quo scribimus, quia " ante usum chartæ vel membranæ, de libris " arborum volumina compaginabantur." SERVIUS *in Virgil, Æneid* 11. 554.

When Servius wrote these words, " *ante usum* " *chartæ,*" he knew not that the term *charta,* in its radical acceptation, signified *bark.* Every idea of the original derivation of the word was so much lost, that it seems uniformly to have been applied by the Roman writers, peculiarly to that species of paper which was made, or supposed to have been made, of the Egyptian *papyrus.*

Servius's derivation of the word *liber* was not approved by Salmasius. " *Aliter tamen sentit Sal-* " *masius, qui ex Græco* βίλος *deducit, pro quo Æoles* " βίλλος, βλίττος, *vel* γλίττος *dixerint. Sumitur autem* " *non modo pro foliis et paginis, in quibus scribi-* " *tur, sed pro ipsa scriptura.*" SALMAS. de modo usurarum, c. x. p. 406. GESNER, *voce* Liber.

The concurring testimonies of the most reputable Grecian authors confirm the tradition of the establishment of Egyptian and Phœnician colonies in Greece. It was the received opinion, that the principal cities in Greece were founded by colonies from Egypt, Phœnicia, and Asia Minor. It was said, that Greece, before the arrival of these colonies, was possessed by barbarians; a term applied, in the refined ages of Greece, to all nations who were not Greeks. Among all the foreign invaders of Greece, the

Pelasgians were the most eminent; they were a powerful people, considerably advanced in the knowledge of the useful arts of life, which, with their language, they introduced into Greece and Italy. As their progress was westward from Asia Minor, they must have migrated from the more eastern countries of Europe, prior to their settlement in Greece and Italy. The Greek language was not confined to the territories of Greece, properly so called; it extended over a much wider range of country. We have incontrovertible evidence, as observed in another place, that it was an Asiatic language, and was not the language of the most ancient inhabitants of Greece.

It has been computed by chronologers, that Sicyon, which claimed to be the oldest city of Greece, was founded two thousand and eighty-nine years before the Christian era.* Argos, which was the first city that acquired political eminence, is said to have been founded two hundred and thirty-three years after Sicyon; and the reign of Minos in Crete was four hundred and fifty years later than the founding of Argos. Sir Isaac Newton conjectured, that Sicyon and Argos were founded nearly about the same time, one thousand and eighty years before the reign of Minos, king of Crete. Cadmus, it is said, built Thebes, and introduced letters into

* BLAIR'S Chronol. Tables.

Greece one thousand four hundred and ninety-three years before the Christian era. The war of Troy is computed to have happened about one thousand and two hundred years before that era. At that illustrious epoch many cities existed in Greece; and although it cannot be maintained, that the inhabitants of that famous country had at that period arrived at a high degree of civilization or refinement of manners, there does not occur any reason to doubt, that the Greek language had been then brought to a high pitch of perfection.* The building of cities demonstrates, that a considerable portion of the people were acquainted with and practised the useful arts of life, and had formed themselves into communities regulated by ordinances of civil polity. Supposing Cecrops, Cadmus, Minos, Theseus, to have been the founders of cities in Greece, and the leaders of colonies from foreign countries, such events cannot support the conclusion, that the Greek language, as spoken, not only in Greece at the time of the Trojan war, but in countries of considerable extent on both sides of the Hellespont, particularly in Asia Minor, many ages before that renowned period, was introduced into Greece by these illustrious founders of cities, or by transmarine colonies from Egypt.

Homer describes the island of Crete and its inhabitants as existing in his time :—

* *Vide* TURGOT.

" Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἐστὶ, μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,
" Καλὴ καὶ πίειρα, περίῤῥυτος· ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι
" Πολλοὶ, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐνήκοντα πόληες.
" Ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοὶ,
" Ἐν δ' Ἐτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
" Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες, δῖοί τε Πελασγοί."

" Creta quædam terra est, medio in nigro ponto,
" Pulchra et pinguis, circumflua; in eâ autem homines
" Multi, innumeri, et nonaginta urbes.
" Alia autem aliorum lingua mixta: insunt quidem Achivi,
" Insunt verò indigenæ Cretenses magnanimi, insunt et Cydones,
" Doriensesque trifariàm divisi, eximiique Pelasgi."

We learn from this passage of the great poet, that Crete was possessed by a variety of people speaking different languages. It was a fertile and beautiful island, full of people, and exhibited ninety principal towns. Among the different inhabitants we observe two races to whom honourable epithets are applied. The Eteocretes are magnanimous or high-spirited, the Pelasgians are godlike or divine.

Herodotus writes, " τὴν γὰρ Κρητην ἴσχον τοπαλαιὸν πᾶσαν " βάρβαροι;"* " Cretam enim primum universam " barbari colebant."

Until the invasion of Minos this island was inhabited by barbarians, speaking, undoubtedly, a different language from that of Minos. His-

* Herod. lib. i.

tory informs us, that the people of Crete subject to Minos experienced the effects of regular government, attended with superior civilization to the supposed unruly state of the inhabitants of Greece in general in his time. Minos, by means of his fleets, had suppressed the piracies by which the Grecian seas were infested. By the vigour and energy of his government he acquired the sovereignty of the sea, and transmitted to posterity a high reputation for power, wisdom, and justice.

Minos reigned in Crete above three hundred years before the Trojan war. In Homer's time, whether we suppose him to have lived one or three hundred years after that famous period, the Eteocretes were a distinguished people in Crete: they spoke a different language from the Greeks; they were understood by the Greeks to be the aborigines of the island, as their name plainly imported. It was a name given to them by the Greeks; it being a compound of two words signifying the true Cretans, Ετεοκρητες, *veri Cretenses.*

Strabo, Diodorus, and other Greek writers, held the Eteocretes to be the indigenous inhabitants of the island. Eustathius, commenting upon the above transcribed passage from Homer, says, that the Eteocretes were the indigenous rightful inhabitants of the island, called the true Cretans, as distinguished from strangers.

Thus, then, we have reason to believe, that in the days of Homer the Greek language was not

universally spoken in Crete; and Herodotus has informed us, that the Greek language had not in his time completely extended itself to all Greece. No portion of those languages which the Greeks termed *barbarous* have been handed down to us, and we so far remain in the dark with respect to the form and structure of those languages, and to the descent of the people by whom the barbarous languages of Crete and Greece were spoken.

It being the natural presumption, that prior to transmarine emigrations requiring some considerable degree of nautical skill, the movements of an increasing people were made by land, and to islands in sight of land; we are entitled to conclude, that the earliest population of Crete took place by means of emigrations from the continent of Greece, and not from any African or Asiatic country. Hence it may be inferred, that the most ancient language of Crete was the same as that of Greece, which in both was ultimately overwhelmed, and in form extinguished, by the prevalence of that beautiful and highly admirable fabric of nature and art, the Greek language; which, by the changes incident to human affairs, was itself in the progress of time to suffer a metamorphosis, by which its genuine features were to be so much altered and disguised as to be no longer recognized as a living language, while the original barbarous language, as it was called by the Greeks, penetrating with its authors the

more western countries of Europe, yet lives to prove its origin and its existence, as once the living language of the most ancient inhabitants of Asia Minor, of Greece and Italy; upon the ruins of which language, as spoken in these renowned portions of the globe, a numerous, powerful and refined people, had superinduced a splendid superstructure, whose polished composition, however, still bears testimony, that a considerable portion of its rude materials were furnished by the common progenitors of the ancient Gauls, and of the ancient inhabitants of the Britannic islands, who had applied to themselves, and were known to neighbouring nations, by the appellation still retained only by the inhabitants of the northern part of Albion, as the generic appellation of their race, viz. that of *Gael.*

We collect the following historic facts respecting the Pelasgi. We learn from Herodotus, that the Pelasgi were of Phœnician original, as being descendants of the Phœnician Cabiri, and that the Samothracians were taught the Cabiric mysteries by the Pelasgi, who in ancient times inhabited Samothrace.* The old Hellas was called Pelasgia.† Strabo likewise relates, that the Pelasgi inhabited Argos in the Peloponnesus, and that the whole country was called Pelasgia. A part of Thessaly was called Pelasgian Argos.‡

* Herod. lib. ii. c. 51. † Strabo, lib. v. p. 237.
‡ Homer, Il. 2.

In the reign of Deucalion, reckoned 1529 years before the Christian era, it is said, that the Pelasgi were driven from Thessaly, more anciently called Oenotria; that some of them settled at the mouth of the Po, and others at Croton in Tuscany. It was received as a historic fact, that the Pelasgic alphabet prevailed in Greece before the age of Deucalion, and consisted of sixteen letters.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus relates, that the first Greek colony which migrated into Italy were Arcadians under Oenotrus son of Lycaon, an event calculated to have taken place about 1700 years before the Christian era. Before that period, a colony, as related by Herodotus, went from Lydia into Italy under Tyrrhenus, about 2000 years before the Christian era, upwards of 300 years before any Pelasgic colony went out of Greece into Italy. Dionysius of Halicarnassus proves, that many authors called them Pelasgi. He cites Hellanicus Lesbius, who was older than Herodotus, to prove that they were first called Pelasgi Tyrrheni, and that after they began to inhabit Italy they settled in that part called Etruria. Strabo quotes a fragment of *Anticlides* to prove, that a Pelasgian people sailed with Tyrrhenus the son of Atys into Italy. Hence it is to be inferred, that there were Pelasgi in Italy before the time of Oenotrus. The Etruscan letters are Pelasgic. The Oscan language was a dialect of the Etruscan. There is very little

difference between the Pelasgian, the Etruscan, and the most ancient Greek letters. The Etruscan, the Oscan, and the Samnite alphabets, are derived from that of the Pelasgi; they differ from each other more in name than in form.

The Pelasgic alphabet, which prevailed in Greece before the age of Deucalion, consisted of sixteen letters. The Tyrrhenian alphabet, first brought into Italy, preceded the reign of that prince; it consisted of thirteen letters only.*

If the Tyrrhenians were a Pelasgic people, then the first alphabet brought into Italy, which had consisted of thirteen letters, were also Pelasgic; that is, a Pelasgic alphabet was introduced into Italy about 2000 years before the Christian era. But how far back may be dated the introduction or knowledge of an alphabet in Greece, it is difficult to form even any probable conjecture. It may be admitted, however, as a rational conclusion, that those strangers who had first introduced with their language the knowledge of alphabetic written characters, were a people far advanced in the practice of the useful arts of life, and were accustomed to the observance of systematic rules of civil polity. The political situation of the more ancient inhabitants of the country of Greece, their usages, manners, and customs, their state of advancement in the know-

* *Vide* Mr ASTLE's most ingenious and learned work upon the Origin and Progress of Writing.

ledge of the useful arts of life, when they were visited by colonies from the more refined eastern nations of antiquity, are entirely hidden from our eyes. Dr Robertson, alluding to the literary researches in India, says, that "the records have "been partly opened to us of those mighty em- "pires of Asia, where the beginnings of civiliza- "tion are lost in the darkness of unfathomable "antiquity."*

We cannot admit, however, that the more ancient inhabitants of Greece, who were called *barbarous*, were, at the period when they were visited by a more refined eastern people, in no degree removed from that state of society described by Horace;

"Quos venerem incertam rapientis more ferarum
"Viribus editior cædebat, ut in grege taurus."

HORAT. lib. i. 109.

Of such a people, so little acquainted with the arts of the first necessity, communities living in cities could not be formed. Houses would not be built, without the prospect of a population corresponding to the structures raised for their accommodation. The country of Greece was, therefore, at the time of founding so many cities, inhabited by various classes of people, termed by the philosophic economists of modern times, *pro-*

* Dr ROBERTSON's Disquisition on India.

ductive and *non-productive;* or, in other words, Greece consisted of a people putting in practice, in a more or less advanced state, that species of division of labour, which is performed by agriculturists and mechanics mutually furnishing the necessaries and conveniencies of life, in that state of perfection, which naturally leads to the assemblage of the latter in towns and cities, while the former, remaining to cultivate the soil, are stimulated to a higher degree of laborious exertion, to administer to the wants of the non-productive classes of the people, collected in more compact bodies, and capable of supplying, in their turn, by means of more excited industry and ingenuity, the whole mass of the people, with the product of those arts which add to the comforts and felicities of man in improved society.

If an alphabet called *Pelasgic*, and which consisted of sixteen letters, prevailed in Greece before the age of Deucalion, and if it be rightly calculated that the reign of Deucalion preceded the Christian era by 1529 years, then an alphabet consisting of sixteen letters was known in Greece before the age of Cadmus; but it still remains a question involved in darkness, how long prior to the age of Deucalion letters had been known in Greece? We have stated it as a matter of curious remark, that *cart*, signifying *bark* in Gaelic, written *chart*, with the prepositive article *a* corresponding to *the* in English, was the word used by the Greeks and Romans to ex-

press paper, or that pliant substance which was found most convenient for retaining written characters. It being a certain fact, that the bark of trees was a substance used by the early progenitors of all civilized nations for the purpose of retaining inscribed characters, the Pelasgi, when they came into Greece, must either have continued to express a substance corresponding to our word *paper*, by their own appellative term, or have adopted the name of that substance as pronounced by the native inhabitants of that country into which they came to settle. In fact, the Gael of Scotland and Ireland are, so far as we know, the only people in Europe whose word denoting *bark* conveys intelligence of that substance which the most ancient inhabitants of Greece and Italy used for the inscription of written characters, and which they denominated χαρτης and *charta*, prior to their knowledge of the Egyptian *papyrus*. Savage tribes, it is well known, inscribe hieroglyphical characters upon the bark of trees; and it is a fact ascertained by the historical records of all nations, who have arrived at the happy discovery and most important of all inventions, the inscription of written characters on substances fit for retaining them, as signs of the ideas of the human mind, that the finer pellicles of the bark of trees was universally used for a purpose the most momentous in the condition of rational beings, capable of advancing in improvement towards that

elevated rank and dignity of character, which alone can entitle them to that sublime distinction, which, in Homer's opinion, authorised him to apply to the illustrious Pelasgi the epithet *divine*.

It can hardly be maintained, that if the inhabitants of Greece were, prior to the period of the arrival of the Pelasgi among them, acquainted with the use of bark for receiving and retaining written characters, they were altogether ignorant of letters, or of signs of articulate sounds forming the component parts of words. Although we are informed by Cæsar, that the Gauls were acquainted with the alphabetical characters of the Greeks, we are not entitled thence to conclude, that they were unacquainted with any other signs of letters. That the Gael made use of written characters to denote letters, is a fact well ascertained.* These were totally different from the Greek characters, and could not have been derived from the Pelasgi, or any other race of people who had adopted or imitated the Pelasgic characters. Hence it must be admitted, that a people termed by the Greeks *barbarous*, had arrived at a knowledge of the component principles of words, without the aid of any of those lights which shone upon the Grecian people at the earliest periods of their civilization, by means of colonies of strangers more advanced

* Vallency's Collectanea.

in the knowledge of the useful and ornamental arts of life.

Carmen. Cantus.

Carmen, in general, signifies *a song* or *ode*. The Roman philologists are at a loss about its derivation. They say it is derived *forte a cano quasi canimen;* but although they may with propriety derive *cantus* from *cano*, the word *carmen* cannot be referred to this source. Both *carmen* and *cantus* are derived from Gaelic vocables.

A, pronounced with an aspiration, is expressive of *laughter* among all mankind. *A'ir*, in the Gaelic language, signifies *joy;* compounded of *a*, the natural expression of laughter, and *fir*, *real*. *A laugh* is expressed by *gair*, which is an abbreviation of *gu'air*, *the voice of joy*. The word *gairm*, which is the *carmen* of the Latins, is composed of three Gaelic words, *gu air fhuaim*, pronounced *gairaim*, commonly written *gairm*, which literally signify *the sound of the voice of joy*, compose the root of the Latin *carmen*, and is expressive of harmonious metrical numbers, generally, as used by the Romans, though not always, of a joyous cast. Ovid expresses himself, with respect to the swan,—

" Carmina jam moriens canit exsequialia cygnus."
Metamorph. 14. 435.

The word *cantus* is a derivative of the Gaelic word *caint*, which signifies *speech*. Should it be said that *cantus* is derived from the verb *cano*, and therefore cannot be referred to the Gaelic original, it is answered, that the verb *cano* is the verb *can* in Gaelic, which signifies *to sing;* as *can omhran* or *amhran, sing a song*. It is also used for *to speak;* and *caint*, signifying *speech*, is its derivative, as well as the *cano* and *cantus* of the Latins. In Latin, *canere* was distinguished from *dicere*, as a word of more dignity: " Qui " sanctas et venerabiles res atque divinas docen- " do proponunt, augustiore veluti verbo *canere* " dicuntur non *dicere*." The original meaning of the word supports this distinction. *Cantus* bears reference to the sound, *carmen* to the metrical composition of a song or poem:—

" En conor dignos in carmina dicere cantus."

It is curious to observe, that the Greek φωνη, in Latin *vox* or *sonus*, *voice* or *sound*, is the Gaelic *fonn*, which signifies, not precisely *voice* or *sound*, but is used to express the *air* or *sound* of a tune. It is submitted, that from the Gaelic *fonn*, and not from φαω, *dico*, is this word to be derived; *fa* is not unknown in the Gaelic language. *Fathi*

is *a prophet*, literally *a speaker*, a compound of *fa* and *ti*; the *t* is quiescent in the compound.

The Latin *vox* is not now in use, but it is preserved in the compound *focul*, a word which signifies *voice in motion*, foc-dhul; *dh* pronounced like *y* in *yon*, *yonder*. It may be observed, that *foxa* bears also the same signification as *fundus* in Latin.

Ulna. Cubitus.

"Tres pateat cœli spatium non amplius ulnas."

Ecl. 3. 105.

On this line of Virgil, Servius writes, "Ulna "proprie est spatium, in quantum utraq. exten-"ditur manus. Dicta ulna ἀπὸ τῶν ὠλενῶν, id est, a "brachiis, unde et λευκωλενος Ηρη dicitur, licet Sueto-"nius ulnam cubitum velit esse tantummodo. "Sane hæc questio varie solvitur."

The real signification of the word ὠλενος was not settled among the learned Greeks. It was used to signify the *arm*, from the elbow to the fingers; and was supposed to be synonymous with πηχυς, which properly signified *a cubit*. It was understood to be the same with the Roman *ulna*, the meaning of which was also matter of dispute among the learned Romans.

We have the opinion of the learned Servius, commenting on this line of Virgil,

"Terra gelu late, septemq. adsurgit in ulnas."

Georg. lib. iii. 355.

The commentator gives his opinion thus: "Ulna autem ut diximus, Ecl. iii. 105. secun- "dum alios utriusq. manus extensio est, secun- "dum alios, cubitus, quod magis verum est, quia "Græce ωλενη dicitur cubitus, unde est λευκωλενος Hera, "*the white armed Juno.*"

Ulna, according to some authors, signified the length from the tips of the fingers of one hand to the tips of the fingers of the other hand, when the arms are stretched out, the same as our fathom. According to other authors, *ulna* signified properly *a cubit*, or the ordinary extent of a man's arm between the elbow and the tip of the hand. This signification Servius approved, upon this ground, that the Latin word *ulna* was derived from the Greek word ωλενη, which signified *a cubit*. Had Servius been acquainted with the most ancient language of Greece and Italy, and had found in that language, or in any remnant of it, the word *uilenn*, used to denote *elbow*, he could have been at no loss to determine the derivation of the word. The truth is, the word *uilenn* is the Gaelic word for *elbow*, not the space between the joint of the elbow and the tip of the hand, but what the Greeks called

ακρωλενιον, and after them the Romans *acrolenium*. Having lost the original proper meaning of the radical word *uilenn*, they variously applied the terms ωλενη and *ulna* to parts of the arm which the original word did not warrant. Hence the uncertainty with respect to its proper application. The original word having undergone a modification accommodated to the language of emigrant strangers, a more refined people than the ancient inhabitants of Greece, it had lost its precise primitive signification; the Greeks in its stead introduced two words, to express what the original language expressed in one, and of ακρος and ωλενη compounded ακρωλενιον, which literally signifies *the extreme end* or *tip of the elbow*.

Solinus, cap. 45. uses *ulna* for *cubitus*, where Pliny speaks of a crocodile of 22 cubits long. Solinus expresses it by so many *ulnæ*, and Julius Pollux uses both words for the same; τον δε πηχυν ωλενην καλουσιν, *they call a cubitus an ulna*. Dr Arbuthnot's Tables of Ancient Coins, &c. ch. 8. "ΩΛΕΝΗ dicitur a quibusdam cubitus sive os inter "duos articulos (αξιωνα and καρπον) medium; alio "nomine πηχυς nominatum. Scribit enim Poll. "lib. ii. τον ωλενην etiam πηχυν καλεισθαι. Itidemq. "Hesychio ωλενες sunt οι πηχεις των χειρων. Idem tamen Heisych. ωλενης exp. etiam βραχιονας, ωγκωλας, "nec non χειρας, uti Servius quoq. ωλενας, interp. "*Brachia* derivatum inde dicens Latinum vocabulum *Ulna*." Steph. Thesaur.

The Greeks, it is evident, departed, in all the acceptations taken notice of by the learned Stephanus, from the original meaning of the word *uilem*, ωλνη; but the Romans, though they equally clearly as the Greeks preserved the original word, departed still farther from its original meaning; with them it signified not only a cubit, but the length or space between the tips of the fingers of two arms stretched out; and it was also used to signify a man's arm, as in these lines of Catullus, xvii. 13.

——————————— " Est homo
" Insulsissimus, nec sapit pueri instar,
" Bimuli tremula patris dormientis in ulna."

It is understood that the Romans borrowed their measures of length from the Greeks. As these measures were taken from the human body, it is to be presumed that the specific lengths of the different measures were determined by what was found to be the longitudinal extent of the members of a human body, the most perfect or most admired for size, symmetry, and strength. If it be true, as is supposed by the generality of authors,* that the Grecian foot exceeded the Roman by a Roman half inch, then it may be inferred, that when the Grecian measure of a foot was fixed, the bodies of men in Greece were

* ARBUTHNOT's Tables of Ancient Coins, &c. ch. 8.

larger than were those in Italy when the Roman measure of a foot was determined.

Aristotle describes a man to be ζῶον πεζὸν δίπουν τετράπηχυ, *a two-footed animal four cubits high.*

A cubit was understood universally to be a measure of one foot and a half. The Roman cubit was a fraction of an inch less than eighteen English inches; the Grecian cubit was a fraction of an inch greater than the Roman cubit; so that Aristotle's man may be supposed to amount to the measure of six feet English in height; his cubit being the fourth part of his height, was of consequence a measure of eighteen English inches. If, however, Aristotle's description of a man can be understood to have been taken from the medium size of men in his days, these men of six feet high were as common in his time in Greece, as men of five feet eight inches are at present in Great Britain; this last measure being understood to be the medium size of men in this island.

A cubit is that part of the arm which is often used to support the body in a leaning posture, and seems to be derived from the verb *cubo*. The Latins said *cubitus* or *cubitum*, the Greeks had the word κύβιτον. The word *cubo* was used, it is probable, by the Greeks, in the same sense with that of the Latins, as we meet with κύπτω, to signify an inclined posture of the body. The root of both words is Gaelic; *cub* signifies *a bending of the body; cubam, I bend or stoop;* and

cubachuil, a bed-chamber, and is the same with the Latin *cubiculum*, a compound of *cub* and *cuil;* which latter is in common use, and signifies *a recess* or *private apartment of a house. Claon* and *cluain* are now in current use for *to bend* or *recline;* which are the same with the Greek κλινω, and the Latin *clino*, though in the latter language the word became obsolete without the prepositions, *in, re, ad, de.*

The members of the human body having been naturally used as affording various standards for different measures of length, the appellations of those members were also, by a metonymy natural to the human mind, applied to the measures themselves; the standards having been once fixed by the common consent and usage of any people. So, among the Romans, *digitus, palma, pes, cubitus, a finger, a palm, a foot, a cubit*, were well known parts of the body; but *ulna*, as a *measure*, was variously understood. It is evident, however, that Servius's opinion was just, that it was originally and properly the same measure with a cubit. The word *ulna*, as already mentioned, denoted simply the *tip of the elbow*, to which, in the act of measurement, it was necessary to apply the instrument of mensuration, which being extended along the arm to the tip of the fingers, the whole measure got the name of that part of the arm which figured most in the imagination, whence the measure-

ment took its commencement. In confirmation of this idea it may be observed, that the Greek πλεθρον was not understood to be a greater measure than their πηχυς, which was certainly the Roman *cubitus*.

Multa. Pœna.

Aulus Gellius writes,* "Timæus in histo-
"riis, quas oratione Græca de rebus populi Ro-
"mani composuit, et M. Varro in antiquitatibus
"rerum humanarum terram Italiam de Græco
"vocabulo appellatam scripserunt; quoniam bo-
"ves Græca vetere lingua ιταλοι vocitati sunt,
"quorum in Italia magna copia fuerit, buceraq.
"in ea terra gigni pasciq. solita sint complurima.
"Conjectare autem possumus ob eandem cau-
"sam, quod Italia tunc esset armentosissima, *mul-*
"*tam* quæ appellatur, suprema, institutam in sin-
"gulos duarum ovium, boum triginta, pro co-
"pia scilicet boum, proq. ovium penuria. Sed
"cum ejusmodi *multa* pecoris armentiq. a magis-
"tratibus dicta erat; addicebantur boves ovesq.
"alias precii parvi alias majoris; eaq. res facie-
"bat inæqualem multæ pœnitionem. Idcirco pos-

* Lib. xi. cap. 1. Noct. Attic.

"tea lege Ateria constituti sunt in oves singu-
"las æris deni, in boves æris centeni. *Minima*
"*autem multa est ovis unius.* Suprema multa
"est ejus numeri, cujus diximus, ultra quem
"multa dicere in singulos jus non est, et prop-
"terea suprema appellatur, id est, summa et
"maxima. Quando igitur nunc quoq. a magis-
"tratibus populi Romani more majorum *multa*
"dicitur vel minima vel suprema; observari
"solet ut *oves genere virili appellentur;* atq. ita
"M. Varro verba hæc legitima, quibus minima
"multa diceretur, concepit. *M. Terentius quan-*
"*do citatus neq. respondet neq. excusatus est, ego ei*
"*unum ovem multam dico.* Ac nisi eo genere
"diceretur negaverunt justam videri multam.
"*Vocabulum autem ipsum multæ* idem M. Varro
"uno et vicesimo rerum humanarum, *non Lati-*
"*num sed Sabinum esse dicit; idq. ad suum me-*
"*moriam mansisse* ait in lingua Samnitium, *qui*
"*sunt a Sabinis orti.*"

We learn from the history of mankind, in different periods of their social existence, that even after the notion of the right of appropriation had obtained in the human mind, those subjects which administer to the sustenance and comfort of the human species were enjoyed, not by individuals exclusively, but by societies or tribes of men, women and children, in common. Mankind existing in this state of society were not unacquainted with atonements and compensations for injuries, by payment or delivery of a certain num-

ber of cattle to the injured tribe or society, for the offence committed against them. There can be no regular government established among men, without an executive power of punishment being vested in a certain person or persons, who are understood to have right to take cognizance of crimes.* The imposition of fines on individuals proves the establishment of exclusive property of the most perfect kind. We have the authority of the above quoted learned author, that fines or penalties for offences or trespasses were paid by the Romans in cattle, in the earlier period of their existence as a state. In those periods, money, or any species of metal stamped with a determinate value, for the purposes of commerce, was to them unknown. Exclusive property in individuals was acknowledged, and the regular authority of magistrates established and put in practice, before metallic substances furnished those convenient instruments of commerce, which are universally used among mankind, accustomed in any considerable degree to commercial intercourse.

The words used by the Romans to denote a fine, or penalty, or punishment, were *multa* and *pœna*. Between these two words there was an essential difference in their original meaning, which, in the progress of time, was in a good measure lost sight of; but, even in the latter

* *Vide* GRANT's Essays, Origin of Jurisdiction.

periods of Roman jurisprudence, a distinction was preserved between *multa* and *pœna*, so as not to be confounded in their judicial acceptations. Ulpian writes,* "Inter multam autem et pœnam, "multum interest; cum pœna generale sit no-"men, omnium delictorum coercitio; multa spe-"cialis peccati, cujus animadversio hodie pecuni-"aria est."

This illustrious Roman lawyer distinguishes between the nature of the punishments which were denominated *multa*, and *pœna*. There was always this essential difference, that *multa* affected the offender's goods, not his person: corporal punishment was not understood to be implied under the term *multa*, and Ulpian says, that this species of punishment or animadversion, *hodie pecuniaria est*. The word *hodie* serves to inform us, that in former times the atonement was not made in money, but in some species of property of a different nature.

In the Greek language ποινη referred principally to inflictions by which the person of the offender was sensibly touched, and is said to be derived from the verb πονεω, which denotes *painful and slavish labour*; ποινης, *qui labore victum quærit*. The original word is well known in the Gaelic language. *Pian* denotes *bodily pain, pianta, pangs*; it is also applied to *bodily labour*, as *duine piantach, a laborious man*. The genitive

* L. 131. De Verb. Significat.

of the substantive *pian* is *pean*, whence ποινη of the Greeks; so that *pæna*, in its radical acceptation, referred to corporal punishment. The word *multa*, in its original signification, was not expressive of punishment in any sense whatever. It is curious to observe, that in the Gaelic language, the word for a *wedder* (sheep), in Latin *vervex*, is *mult*. The Welsh and Irish say *molt*; the Cornish, *molz*; in the Armoric, *maut*. The Gael of Scotland have preserved more nearly the pronunciation of the ancient word as spoken in Italy. In Gaelic the vowel *u* sounds like *oo* English, or *u* in the Italian language. The *multa* of the Romans was *a fine*, or that satisfaction which was made to the injured person, by delivering to him some portion of the offender's goods. In what kind of goods was this satisfaction made among the Romans? It was made by delivery of a sheep by the offender to the injured party. Was it by delivery of a ram or a ewe sheep? The answer will be learned from the illustrious author above quoted. When the fine called *multa* was inflicted in his day, "*more majorum*, "*observari solet ut oves genere virili appellentur.* "*M. Terentius quando citatus neq. respondet neq.* "*excusatus est, ego ei unum ovem multam dico.* Ac "nisi eo genere diceretur, negaverunt justam vi-"deri multam." Here, then, the ancient form of expressing the sentence remained: the masculine gender was applied to the sheep to be delivered as satisfaction for the offence committed; and if

the sentence was not thus expressed, it was not the proper sentence or fine of *multa*. It might appear odd and unaccountable to the Romans, in the days of Aulus Gellius, that in expressing the sentence of *multa* the masculine gender should have been so tenaciously adhered to; and they might say, that *non omnium quæ a majoribus tradita sunt ratio reddi potest*. The fact, however, was well ascertained, and the Gaelic language enables us to account for the form of the sentence.

When a fine was originally imposed, satisfaction was made by the offender by delivery of a sheep to the injured person: but it was neither a ewe nor a ram that was delivered; it was that particular kind of *sheep*, which, in the language of the people, was called *mult*, that is, a *wedder sheep*. From the frequent use of the term *mult* in the infliction of fines, the sentence or fine came, by a natural metonymy, to bear the name of the particular animal given in satisfaction of the injury.

It is worthy of observation, that it was said by M. Varro, that *multa* was not a Latin but a Sabine word, and that the word remained to his time in use among the Samnites, who were of Sabine origin.

Pliny, in his chapter De Jugere et actu et legibus circa Pecora, &c. writes:* "*Mulctatio quoq.*

* PLIN. Nat. Hist. cap. iii. lib. 18.

" *non nisi ovium bouma impendio dicebatur, non*
" *omittenda priscarum legum benevolentia. Cau-*
" *tum quippe est, ne bovem priusquam ovem nomi-*
" *naret, qui indiceret mulctam.*" From this learned author we learn, that, in the imposition of the mult or fine, the satisfaction was to be made in sheep before cows or oxen could be adjudged. The highest mult or fine consisted of two sheep and thirty cows or oxen; the *minima multa*, or lowest fine, was of one sheep; and, as already noticed, the sentence marked the sheep to be of the male species. Pliny being unacquainted with the original nature of the fine denominated *multa*, ascribes the indiction of a sheep before cows were named, to the clemency of the ancient laws of the Romans; whereas originally the *multa* was a fine of a wedder sheep, that being the name known, and proper appellation of the animal which was forfeited or given in satisfaction of the injury.

Varro writes, " *Multa* a pecunia quæ a magis-
" tratu dicta, ut exigi *possit ob peccatum*, quod
" singulæ *dicuntur appellatæ esse multæ, quod olim*
" *unum dicebant multa.* Itaq. cum in dolium aut
" culeum unum addunt rustici, *prima urna addi-*
" *ta, dicunt etiam nunc multa.*" Scaliger, in his *Conjectanea in Varronem de Lingua Latina*, gives us the sense in which Varro understood the word *Multa*. " *Varro autem putavit illud* MULTA esse
" nomen, et *significare unum*, quod in primo nu-
" mero ita dicerent." He condemns Varro's ety-

mon of the word: "Sed nimis tenuis et λεπτολογος, "est in hac etymologia Varro." Scaliger's explanation of the term, however, is equally distant from the original sense of the word, and of the cause whence it sprung, when used as a term expressive of punishment: the one renders it as synonymous to *unum*, the other as expressive of the same sense as *numera:* "Nam veteres cum "plures culeos in dolium unum indituri essent, "primo addito, dicebant multa; hoc est nu-"mera."

How early the ancient inhabitants of Italy were acquainted with the operation of castrating rams, cannot, we presume, be ascertained; but it may be admitted, that the utility of that operation was experienced and approved by the progenitors of the Romans, living in that stage of society when money was unknown, and the wealth of the people consisted of their flocks and herds; that is, when they were as yet leading a pastoral life, and were properly entitled to the appellation of shepherds.

It appears from Homer's works, that of the sheep kind a ram is always mentioned as the sacrifice offered to the deities. This circumstance entitles us not absolutely to conclude, that the castration of rams was unknown to, or not practised by the Greeks; for we are told, that "Romani reges, homicidii convictos ariete mul-"tabant, qui supplicando Diis immolaretur, unde "dicta supplicia." The ram, as the noblest ani-

mal, the *dux ovium*, was always offered as a propitiatory sacrifice to the Gods.

It may be observed, that the Greeks had not one word corresponding to the English word *wedder*; they said κριος τομιας, *a cut ram*. The Latins had the word *vervex*, which signified *a male sheep* that had suffered castration. This word is a compound of two Gaelic words *fir, bhech*; the first signifies *real, genuine*, also *male*; the other word signifies *beast* in general. *Vervex*, in its original meaning, signifies *a beast of value*. A forfeiture of that animal was, therefore, a proper infliction of punishment among a pastoral people. From the word *beach* is derived the *pecus* of the Romans. Though the ancient word *mult*, which was used by the Gauls to denote *a wedder*, was lost by their descendants in France, yet they have preserved a certain proof of the use of the original word, in their term *mouton*. The English *mutton* is derived from the same source, and properly signifies *the flesh of a wedder sheep*, called by the Gael *multeoil*. The Italians, for *mutton*, use the terms *moutone* and *castrato*, still retaining the real meaning of the original word, whence the modern terms have sprung.

Varro derives the word from *pes*, not, as we apprehend, in a satisfactory manner: " Pecus ab " eo quod perpascat, a quo pecora universa, quod " in pecore pecunia tum consistebat pastoribus: " et standi fundamentum pes, a quo dicitur in

"ædificiis, area pes magnus, et qui fundamen-
"tum instituit pedem ponit. A pede pecudes
"appellarunt."* This derivation seems to be liable to the objection made by Scaliger to the etymon of *multa;* it cannot, however subtle and ingenious it may appear, be admitted as natural.

In the passage above transcribed from the well informed and ingenious author, we learn, that in the ancient language of Greece *cattle* were expressed by the word ιταλος, and that that term was applied to the country of the Romans, from its great abundance of herds of cattle.

This matter of information serves also to show, that the ancient language of Greece alluded to was the Gaelic; in that language *cattle* is called *edail*, the common term in the mouths of all the Gael of Scotland and Ireland for *cattle*. It may be further observed, that the ancient inhabitants of Greece might have very naturally applied the word *edali* to *Italy; i* signifies an *island*, and as it is much surrounded by the sea, and is in fact a peninsula, it might readily and naturally have obtained from the inhabitants of Greece the appellation of the *Island of Cattle*.

In mentioning the origin of the name of Italy the word *bucera* is noticed. *Buic* is the plural number of *boc*, applied to the male of the *goat* and *roe*.

* VARR. de Ling. Lat. lib. 4.

" Italia dicta, quod magnos Italos, hoc est " boves habeat. Vituli etenim Itali sunt dicti."* So that cows, and particularly calves, were denominated *Itali*, which corresponds with the Gaelic *Edal.*

* Festus, *voce* Italia.

THE

ANCIENT BRITONS WERE GAEL, AND DESCENDED FROM THE GAULS.

A LEARNED French author,* who has made the history of the Celts an object of his particular attention, says, " It is difficult to determine " from what country the Celts came originally. " The history and ancient traditions of the Celts " furnish us with no certain accounts of the " country whence those people first came. They " passed into Europe at a period beyond the " reach of history."

The name of Celts, says the learned author,† may be regarded as the proper and distinguishing name of the people whose history he writes. As to the origin of the name he confesses himself to be uncertain, and quotes among others, M. de Leibnitz, who derives it from the word *gelt*, which signifies *value*, and *gelten*, which signifies *to be worth* in the Celtic language, and that *Celtæ*, *Keltæ*, and *Galatæ*, are the same word; though, in the author's opinion, the *Galati* of the Greeks is the *Galli* of the Romans, modified

* PELLOUTIER, tom. i. p. 78.

† Page 88, 89, *et seq.*

by an inflection more agreeable to the genius of the Greek language. Pelloutier quotes the opinion of Pausanias, who says, "The usage of call-"ing these people *Galli*, was introduced but very "late. Their ancient name was that of *Celti:* "it was the name they took themselves; it was "also the name which strangers gave to them." "Julius Cæsar," adds Pelloutier, "says something "similar in the beginning of his Commentaries: "The third part of Gaul is occupied by the *Celti;* "so they name themselves in their language, "and we call them *Galli.*" "But Julius Cæsar "and Pausanias," says Pelloutier, "decide not if "that name is in itself Greek, Latin, or Celtic. "It appears, however, that that word has taken "its origin among the Celts. *Waller* signifies in "the Teutonic, *to run, to travel. Waller* or *galler* "signifies *a stranger; a traveller, wallo, peregri-*"*nus.* The change of the *w* into *g* is very "common." "According to all appearances, the "Celts, who detached themselves from the great "body of their nation, to pass the Alps on the "side of Italy, and the Danube on the side of "Pannonia, took the name of *Waller* or *Galler.* "They indicated by that expression, that they "had been driven from their ancient habitations, "or that they voluntarily exiled themselves "from them."

Had the learned authors of these etymological derivations been acquainted with the language of the Gael, they would not have admitted those

appellation was applied by the neighbouring nations to the ancient inhabitants of Wales, however their descendants may have retained their own distinctive appellation of *Cimmerich.* It is easy to perceive, that the term *Gael* was in the Saxon pronunciation of the name readily transformed into *Wael;** hence, the inhabitants came naturally to be denominated by the Saxons *Waels;* the name by which the country possessed by the descendants of the ancient Britons of the southern parts of the island of Great Britain is known at this day.

It affords no good objection to this derivation of the name Wales, that the Welsh in their own language call themselves *Cimmerich.* If the Welsh are genuine descendants of the Cimbri of Germany, the Welsh language proves incontestably, that the Cimbri were a Gaelic race, that language bearing no radical affinity to that of Germany, or the Teutonic; whereas its kindred relation to the ancient language of Scotland and Ireland must, upon the slightest examination, appear obviously to any person conversant in the Gaelic language. A great number of Welsh compounds are formed by Gaelic primitives, not understood as such by the Welsh themselves, yet preserved in common use by the Gael of Scotland and Ireland: some words are preserved as primi-

* *Vide* SOMMERS's Glossary, at the end of the *Decem Scriptores*, under the title *Wallia.*

Britwealas, Cornwealas, Galwealas. CAMBDEN, p. 135.

tives by the Welsh, which are retained only in compounds by the Gael of Scotland and Ireland. The same observation applies to the Armorican dialect of the Gaelic, instances of which will be noticed in another place.

That colonies of Gauls occupied parts of Germany, may be asserted with safety. Tacitus says,* we find that the whole region between the Hercynian Forest† the Maine and the Rhine, was occupied by the Helvetians, and the tract beyond it by the Boians, both originally Gaelic nations. "Igitur inter Hercyniam Sylvam Rhenumque et "Mænum amnes Helvetii; ulteriora Boii, Gallica "utraq. gens, tenuere." And Cæsar, with whom Tacitus agrees, says, that colonies from Gaul had penetrated into Germany.‡

It is to be considered, then, whether it be a just opinion, that *Gael* was the appropriate generic appellation of the people who inhabited the whole country known to the Romans by the name of *Gallia*, and that the appellation of *Celti* and Κελτοι was properly applied only to a part of the great Gaelic nation.

We have good evidence of the fact, that the whole country now called France, had, in very ancient times, received its denomination from

* Tacit. Germania.

† The Hercynian Forest was said to be the largest wood of Germany, sixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth.

‡ Cap. xxviii.

the appellation of the great race of people by whom it was inhabited.

Aristotle, in his book *De Mundo*,* describes very distinctly the Straits of Gibraltar, called the Pillars of Hercules, the coasts washed by the Mediterranean Sea within these, and the great Atlantic Ocean beyond them to the westward. He says, "Ac primum quidem insinuari dicitur "dextrorsus ab Herculis columnis intro navi- "gantibus, circa utramq. Syrtim, (alteram earum "magnam parvam alteram vocant); at vero in "alteram partem non jam itidem sinuosus inun- "dans, efficit tria maria, Sardoum, Gallicum, et "Adriam, τρία που πελάγη, τό τε Σαρδόνιον, καὶ τὸ Γαλατικὸν κα- "λούμενον, καὶ Ἀδρίαν."

It will be observed, that a portion of the great country termed by the Romans *Gallia*, was inhabited by the Κελτοι, and was on one side washed by the Mediterranean Sea. We learn from Aristotle, that one of the seas which he describes was called Κελτικος Γαλατικος, *the Galatic* or *the Gallic Gulf* or *Bay*, evidently so denominated from the general name of the country, a part of which formed the coast of that sea. The Romans called it *Gallia*, the Greeks Γαλατια; and although the latter extended the appellation Κελτοι to all the inhabitants of Gaul, it is evident from the term Κελτογαλατια, that the general name of the country was *Galatia*, derived from the general

* ΠΕΡΙΚΟΣΜΟΥ.

name of the great race of people by whom it was inhabited; and that those inhabitants who were called *Keltoi* by the Greeks, got that name from some peculiar circumstance denoting the nature of the country which they inhabited, and which rendered the term an appropriate appellation. For Cæsar says, that in their own tongue they were called *Celtæ*. The circumstance whence arose the distinctive appellation of *Keltoi* and [illegible], we think was their being a woodland people, denominated *Cuoiltich* in the Gaelic language.

Let us again attend to Aristotle's description of the seas beyond the Pillars of Hercules. "Mare vero quod super Hyrcaniam est, vastum "illam obtinet locum, qui est super Mæotin pa- "ludem. Tum autem qua parte Scythas Celtasq. "complectitur, sensim astringit orbem terrarum, "ad usque sinum Gallicum, supradictasque co- "lumnas: extra quas oceanus terram fluctibus "suis oberrat. Quo ipso in mari insulæ duæ "sitæ sunt, quam maximæ, quas Britannicas ap- "pellant, Albion et Ierna: iis etiam majores, "quas commemoravimus supra Celtas jacentes." According to Aristotle's notion, the sea which lay beyond the Palus Mæotis comprehended Scythia and Keltica, and begirt the habitable world to the Gallic Bay and the Pillars of Hercules. These seas we denominate in modern times the Baltic, the German Ocean, and the Bay of Biscay; which last Aristotle expresses by

the words περὶς τὸ τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ κόλπου. So that we see the proper ancient appellation of the country inhabited by the Gallic race of people communicated its name to one of the mediterranean seas which he describes, on the one side, and to the great bay or gulf formed by the vast Atlantic Ocean, on the other or western side. However the Greeks may have extended the appellation of *Keltica*, the oldest name was unquestionably that retained by the Romans; and although we do not know precisely how the people of Gaul pronounced their general name of the country, we may fairly presume it was nearly that of *Gallia*, allowance being made for the modification of the appellation by the Roman pronunciation of the word.

Cæsar has informed us, that all Gaul was divided into three parts; one of which the *Belgæ* inhabited, another the *Aquitani*, and the third a people, who, in their own tongue, were called *Celtæ*, but by the Romans *Galli*. "Gallia est "omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam inco- "lunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum "lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli appellantur."*

From this account it does not appear, that any of the inhabitants of Gaul were in their own language denominated *Galli*. It is no less true, however, that the general name of the inhabitants of Gaul was *Galli*, than that the general name of the inhabitants of Germany was *Ger-*

* Cæs. Comm. lib. i. cap. 1.

mani. Yet both countries were peopled by a great variety of tribes, who had names, districts, and chieftains or princes peculiar to each. Such as in Germany were the Marcomanni, Menapii, Suevi, &c.; in Gaul, the Albici, Atribates, Carnutes, Gabalii, Pictones, &c.; and so fixed and settled was the name of *Galli* for the whole inhabitants of Gallia, in the idea of the Romans, that that part of Italy which was seized and possessed by a certain portion of that people, got the name of *Gallia Cisalpina*, and *Gallia Togata;* the name being evidently derived from that of the invaders and conquerors of the country.

The appellation of *Celtæ* or *Keltæ* was peculiar to a part of the country of Gaul. The Gauls, according to Livy,* passed into Italy in the reign of Tarquin the elder, about the time when the Greek colony of Marseilles was founded. If the people who appeared in Italy at that time had called themselves *Keltæ*, the Romans would not, it is to be presumed, have applied to them quite a different name. Strabo† gives it as his opinion, that the name of *Keltæ* was applied to the *Galli* in general, from the appellation of the inhabitants of the province of Narbonne, who were an illustrious people, and had been anciently known by the name of *Keltæ;* and that the inhabitants of Marseilles, their neighbours, had contributed to extend that name to the whole na-

* Lib. v. c. 34. † Lib. iv. p. 189.

tion. " Ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν νεμομένων τὴν Ναρβωνῖτιν ἐπωνυμίαν λέ-
" γομεν, οὓς οἱ πρότερον Κέλτας ὠνόμαζον· ἀπὸ τούτων δ' οἶμαι καὶ τοὺς
" σύμπαντας Γαλάτας Κελτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Ελλήνων προσαγορευθῆναι, διὰ
" τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν· ἢ καὶ προσλαβόντων πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν
" διὰ τὸ πλησιόχωρον." " Hæc diximus de Gallis qui
" Narbonensem provinciam incolunt, qui quon-
" dam Celtæ appellabantur, et arbitror ab his esse
" a Græcis nomen Celtarum universis Galatis seu
" Gallis inditum, ob gentis claritatem: vel Mas-
" siliensibus ob vicinitatem ad id aliquid momenti
" conferentibus."

With Strabo agrees Diodorus Siculus,* who says expressly, that the name of *Keltoi* was particularly given to the inhabitants of the province of Narbonne, which extended from the Pyrenees to the Alps, and lay between the rivers Garonne and Seine. " Χρήσιμον δ' ἐστὶ διορίσαι τὸ παρὰ πολ-
" λοῖς ἀγνοούμενον· τοὺς γὰρ ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίας κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῷ μεσογείῳ,
" καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τὰς Αλπεις, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν,
" Κελτοὺς ὀνομάζουσι· τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς Κελτικῆς εἰς τὰ πρὸς νότον
" κείμενα μέρη, παρά τε τὸν Ἀκίσιονα καὶ τὸ Ερκύνιον ὄρος καθηκόντας,
" καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐξῆς μέχρι τῆς Σκυθίας, Γαλάτας προσαγορεύουσιν· οἱ
" δὲ Ρωμαῖοι πάλιν πάντα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη συλλήβδην μιᾷ προσηγορίᾳ
" περιλαμβάνουσιν, ὀνομάζοντες Γαλάτας ἅπαντας." " Nunc quod
" a multis ignoratur definiri operæ pretium est.
" Qui interiora supra Massiliam tenent, et qui ad
" Alpes, ac cis Pyrenæos montes habitant, hos
" Celtas nominant. Qui vero ultra hanc ipsam
" Celticam, partes austrum versus, et ad ocea-

* Lib. v. p. 214.

"num, Hercyniumque montem sitas, incolunt, "omnesq. ad Scythiam usq. diffusos, Gallos voci-"tant. At Romani gentes hasce universas una "Gallorum appellatione comprehendunt."

Diodorus says, that the exact boundaries of the inhabitants of Gaul called *Keltoi*, was unknown to many, and therefore he gives a particular description of the Celtic country, which extended from the Alps to the Pyrenees, and contained a considerable portion of the interior country of Gaul: That the inhabitants of by far the greater portion of Gaul, and of countries extending even to the boundaries of the Scythians, were called Gauls: That the Romans made no nominal distinction between the inhabitants of Narbonne and the other inhabitants of Gaul, comprehending the whole under the denomination of *Gauls*. However indistinctly the territories in the actual possession of the Gauls beyond the Rhine were defined, there is nothing more clearly ascertained by the testimonies of Cæsar, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, than this fact, that the Celtic people, properly so called, possessed only the province of Narbonne, extending from the Pyrenees to the Alps, and were bounded by the Garonne and Seine. The propriety of calling them *Celtæ* was determined by the fact, that they in their own language called themselves *Celtæ*, though the Greeks generally applied that term to the whole Gallic nation. Another fact perfectly ascertained is, that the Belgæ inhabited the low-

er part of Gaul on the side of the Rhine next to the Germans, and that the Helvetii inhabited the higher part of Gaul on the Rhine, also contiguous to the Germans.*

Although the Scythians were a people known to the Greeks and Romans, where the confines of their country lay, or how far the Gallic territories extended towards the Scythians, were matters of information of which neither the Greeks nor Romans were distinctly possessed. We have, however, the authority of Pliny ascertaining one fact, that in general the appellation of *Scythians* continued to be applied to the inhabitants of those countries which had not been explored by travellers or conquerors.† The great district of Gaul described by Strabo, was called *Celtic Gaul*, Κελτογαλατια. It was anciently a great forest, and much more covered with wood than any other parts of the country of Gaul.‡ This circumstance may have given occasion to the nominal distinction between the inhabitants of that woody country, and those of the other divisions of Gaul.

In the Gaelic language *a wood* is expressed by the word *caoill;*‖ the inhabitants of a woody

* Cæsar, lib. i. † Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iv. c. 12.

‡ Mezerai's Hist. de France, lib. i. p. 7.

‖ *Caoill*,—The vowels *aoi* in this word form a triphthong, many of which occur in the Gaelic language. The word is the root of the Greek καλαω, *lignum, wood.* Καλαμ, *a wooden wea-*

country would naturally be denominated *caoiltich*, that is *sylvestres*, or a people belonging to or inhabiting a woody country; hence the Greeks would readily call them Κελτα, *Keltæ*.

The derivation of the name of *Keltæ* from *gelt*, suggested by Leibnitz, could not have been acceptable to the people themselves. *Gelt*, according to that author, is a Teutonic word, which signifies *value*, *money*,* and might imply, that the Celtæ derived their name from being employed, as mercenaries, to fight the battles of other nations. The name taken in this sense, it is evident, could not have originated among themselves, but must have been applied to them by the neighbouring nations who had employed them in a mercenary capacity. But we have the authority of Cæsar, who lived ten years in Gaul, that the name of *Celtæ* distinguished them in their own language from the other nations of Gaul.

pori, a javelin, comes from *cuaill*, which signifies *a wooden weapon, pole*, or *stick*. The Latin word *baculum, a cudgel* or *staff*, is precisely *bochuaill, a cudgel*, used by cowherds to throw at or strike their cows with. The word is a compound of *bo, a cow*, and *cuaill, a cudgel* or *stick*. The Greeks have preserved more perfectly than the Latins, the Gaelic pronunciation of the word for *cowherd*, which is *buchoill; bubulcus*, Latin, βουϊλος, Greek. The word signifies literally *cowherd*, being a compound of *bo, cow*, and *giull, boy* or *young man*; hence the *bucolics*, Greek and Roman pastoral songs.

* SPELMAN, *voce* Danesgeldune.

In the Gaelic language the verb *geill* signifies *to yield, to surrender*, but implies not necessarily dishonour or reproach; but the word *gelt* signifies *cowardice*, and is always significant of disgrace and ignominy among the Gael of Scotland. In Ireland it signifies *fear* simply, not always bearing a sense of reproach. A historical fact may serve to account for its acceptation among the Gael of the former country.

The Danes were long the enemies of the inhabitants of Scotland; their battles against each other were numerous and bloody. The Danes often attempted the conquest of Scotland, and made great efforts to render the Scots tributary to them. It is well known, that *Danegelt* was a tax levied, either to bribe the Danes to leave England, and desist from their depredations, or to enable the government of England to keep or pay a certain number of troops to defend the coasts of that country from those roving enemies. The Scottish kings never submitted to the payment of this ignominious tribute or tax, not even for the province of Cumberland, which they held feudally of the crown of England.* The word *gelt* in the acceptation of the Gael of Scotland, came to signify literally *cowardice;* such is its meaning at this day, and is illustrative of a historical trait expressive of the spirit of the people, announcing that they considered nothing so dis-

* HENRY'S Hist. vol. ii. p. 95.

graceful as being tributary to a foreign prince or people. "Vides quam libenter Syri inserviunt "aliis nationibus, contra vero quantus amor liber- "tatis in Celtarum populis."*

The oldest writer who speaks of the Celts is Herodotus. He wrote his history 410 years before the Christian era, 344 years after the building of Rome. The Greek colony of Marseilles was, as already mentioned, founded while Tarquin the elder reigned at Rome, 200 years before Herodotus wrote his history. It can admit of no doubt, therefore, that the Greeks of Marseilles were sufficiently acquainted with the inhabitants of Celtic Gaul, to be able to communicate to their countrymen of Greece information respecting the local situation of the Celtic people, and the peculiar name by which they were commonly distinguished. The Gauls attacked and took Rome† about 360 years after its foundation. Rome was sacked and burnt by the Gauls 200 years thereafter. It can therefore admit of no doubt, that the Romans and other inhabitants of Italy, who had for ages waged the most bloody wars with the Galli, had every reason to be thoroughly acquainted, not only with the proper generic name of the nation, but with their mode of making war, and their manners and customs.

* JULIAN, *apud* Cyrillum.

† LIV. lib. lxv. c. 35. FLOR. lib. i. c. 13.

to

The Galli were a distinguished people, inhabiting a part of the country known by the name of Illyria along the Adriatic sea, when Alexander the Great, in the first year of his reign, before Christ 336 years, made war upon the Getæ and Triballi, who were the same people with those afterwards distinguished by the name of Goths. We are told, that the Gauls being apprehensive that an invasion of their country was meditated by Alexander, sent ambassadors to conciliate his friendship.*

Alexander received a second embassy from the Gauls a short time before his death: after having subdued the eastern nations of Asia, he threatened to turn his arms against the western nations of Europe. This embassy is mentioned by Justin, † and by Diodorus Siculus, ‡ who says, that upon Alexander's arrival at Babylon ambassadors came to him from many nations in Asia, Africa, and Europe. In the latter, particularly from the Greeks, the Illyrians, from the greater part of the people who inhabited the country along the Adriatic sea, from the Thracians, and the Gauls their neighbours, who began then to be known by the Greeks. "Τά τε Θρακιαι γενη, και τον

* STRABO, lib. vii. p. 301, *et seq.* ARRIAN. Exped. Alex. p. 11.

† Lib. xii. c. 13.

‡ Lib. xvii. p. 623.

πλησιοχώρων,* Γαλαται ἂν τοτε πρωτον το γενος εγνωσθη παρα τοις Ελλησιν.

Arrian relates a story taken from the Memoirs of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, one of Alexander's favourites, respecting the manner in which the Gallic ambassadors were received by Alexander. Ptolemy was present at the audience which Alexander gave to the ambassadors. He spoke to them with a drinking cup in his hand, and asked what they dreaded most in the world? That great conqueror expected that they would have answered,—nothing so much as his arms; but the answer was, We are afraid of nothing if the heavens do not fall upon us; from another cause we put a high value on your friendship. Alexander, far from feeling displeasure at the answer, caressed the ambassadors, received the Gauls into the number of his allies, and said to his attendants, that the Gauls were a brave people.†

Macedonia and Greece were ravaged by the Gauls 45 years after the death of Alexander, about 280 years before the Christian era. In Asia Minor they occupied the country of Phrygia, which, from the name of the people, was called by the Greeks *Galatia*, and was known

* A compound of πλησιος and χωρα, *locus, sedes, regio*. The Gaelic word *coir*, genitive *choir*, signifies *a portion of country* or *ground apparently enclosed on all sides;* and is a compound of *cua* and *tir, round land, cua thir*, abridged *coir*.

† ARRIAN. Exped. Alex. p. 11.

also by the name of *Gallogræcia*. Plutarch * relates of Perseus, one of Alexander's successors, and who bore great enmity to the Romans, that he solicited the aid of those Gauls who were called Bastarnæ, a warlike equestrian nation, who inhabited the sides of the Danube. "Ὑπε-
"κίνει και Γαλατας δε τους περι τον Ἴστρον ωκημενους οἱ Βαστερναι καλουν-
"ται, στρατὸν ιπποτην και μαχιμον."

And here the words of Strabo,† describing the different nations of Asia Minor, are worthy of particular attention. "Πρὸς νότον τοίνυν εἰσί τοῖς Παφλαγόσι
"Γαλάται· τούτων δ' ἐστὶν ἔθνη τρία· δύο μὲν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπώνυμα Τρόκμοι
"και Τολιστοβῶγοι· τον τρίτον δ' απὸ τοῦ ἐν Κελτικῇ ἔθνους Τεκτοσάγες·
"κατέσχον δὲ τὴν χώραν ταύτην οἱ Γαλάται πλανηθέντες πολὺν χρόνον,
"καὶ καταδραμόντες τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἀτταλικοῖς Βασιλεῦσι χώραν, και τοῖς
"Βιθυνοῖς, ἕως παρ' ἑκοντων ἔλαβον την νῦν Βιθυνίαν, και Γαλλογραικίαν
"λεγομένην. Ἀρχηγὸς δε μάλιστα δοκεῖ τῆς περαιώσεως τῆς εἰς την Ἀσίαν
"γενέσθαι Λεονόριος. Τριῶν δὲ ὄντων ἐθνῶν ὁμογλώττων, και κατ' ἄλλο
"οὐδὲν εξηλλαγμένων, ἕκαστα διελόντες εἰς τέτταρας μερίδας, τετραρχίαν
"ἑκάστην ἐκάλεσαν," &c. "Galatæ ergo Paphlagonibus
"versus meridiem sunt. Tria Galatarum ha-
"bentur genera: quorum duo a ducibus nomen
"habent, Trocmi et Tolistobogi, tertium a Cel-
"tica gente Tectosages. Hanc regionem Galatæ
"occupaverunt, cum diu vagati incursionibus
"Attalicorum regum Bithynorumque ditionem
"vexassent, tandem ab iis volentibus acceperunt
"eam terram, quæ nunc Bithynia et Gallogræcia

* PLUTARCH, ii. P. Æmilius.

† STRABO, lib. xii. p. 566. D.

" dicitur. Princeps trajectionis horum in Asiam " præcipuè existimatur fuisse Leonorius. Cum " autem sint tres gentes eadem utentes lingua, et " aliis quoque in rebus nihil differentes, quam- " vis earum in quatuor diviserunt partes, et te- " trarchiam nominaverunt," &c.

Here it may be observed, that although one of the nations or bodies of people who passed over into Asia was of the Celtic people, they all spoke the same language, and were in other respects nothing different. The great generic name prevailed: they were all called *Galatai*, and not *Keltoi*, by the Greeks; and Bithynia got from them the name of *Gallograikia*, or, according to the Latin pronunciation, *Gallogræcia*.

It is indisputable, that the name by which the Romans ever distinguished the inhabitants of Gaul, was applied to the inhabitants of a great part of that vast country which extended from Macedonia to the Danube. Not bounded by the limits of the European quarter of the globe, the name was found upon both sides of the Hellespont; and a considerable body of the inhabitants of Asia Minor were distinguished by the appellation which the Romans rendered *Galli*, and the Greeks *Galatai*.

If the Highlanders of Scotland have preserved themselves from conquest and a foreign admixture of people, it is reasonable to believe, that they have retained their most ancient national appellation; and if the Caledonians were genuine

descendants of the inhabitants of ancient Gaul, it is no less reasonable to conclude, that they have preserved the ancient generic name by which the great Gaelic nation distinguished themselves from all other people.

We shall submit the reasons which have determined our conclusion, that the name of Gael, which the Highlanders of Scotland have retained to this day as their distinguishing appellation, was the ancient name of the inhabitants of all Gaul, which in their migrations the people carried with them as the generic name of the nation, and which their descendants ever retained, whithersoever they moved and made settlements.

We have the best authority for saying, that the ancient language of Great Britain was nearly the same as that of Gaul. "In universum "tamen æstimanti," says Tacitus, "Gallos vici-"num solum occupasse, credibile est. Eorum "sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione. "*Sermo haud multum diversus.*"*

Tacitus speaks of the Gauls and Britons in general. Cæsar's testimony regards those Britons which he had occasion to meet in arms in defence of their country. These were only the maritime Britons of the southern end of the island of Britain, descended, as he judged, from the Belgæ of Gaul, by the similarity of names,

* TACIT. Agric. c. ii.

the shape and figure of their houses, and their manners and customs. "Creberrimaq. ædificio "fere Gallicis consimilia; neq. multum a Gal- "lica differunt consuetudine."*

Cæsar gives no particular description of the houses of the Britons or Gauls, nor does he inform us what was their figure or shape. For these particulars we are indebted to Strabo, who says, that the houses of the Gauls were of a round shape: "Τους δ' οικους εκ σανιδων και γερρων εχουσι μεγαλους, "ὑπολοειδεις, οροφον πολυν επιβαλλοντες." "They have large "houses of a round shape, made of planks and "beams of wood and wattled work, upon which "they put a large roof of straw or reeds." The houses of the Gauls and Britons were of a round figure, with a roof tapering from the bottom to the top, where there was an aperture left for the emission of smoke. The modern houses of the Gael are built different from those of their Gallic ancestors. They have no chimnies or artificial vents for smoke: a large stone stands in the middle of the house, to the face of which the fuel is laid, and an aperture is left in the roof of the house for the emission of smoke: The shape is now not round, but oblong. Vestiges of the ancient houses of the Caledonians are numerous in the Highlands. We have seen many of them: Their diameter is commonly nine or ten yards; some comprehend a larger space: the door of

* Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. v. c. 10.

every house was made regularly to face due east, or the rising sun.

It is observable, that wherever those vestiges of houses appear, there are evident marks of cultivation of the adjacent ground. We have rarely met with any of the sites of those round houses, without observing a great number of small heaps or cairns of stones thrown together at small intervals, the intermediate spaces being cleared for cultivation. The site of those round houses is denominated by the people, *Larach* tai Draonaich, the foundation of the house of a Draoneach.*

The Gael of the western and mountainous parts of Scotland remained, from the nature of their country, a wandering pastoral people, much longer than the Gael of the eastern coast of Scotland. The cultivation of the soil fixes the residence of the cultivator to the spot upon which he performs his labour: the building of durable houses would become expedient. The cultivators of land and growers of corn were, by the western Gael, known and distinguished by the name of *Draonaich*, which they applied to the people of the eastern coast of Scotland, who, prior to the union of the eastern and western inhabitants of Scotland under one king, were known to the Romans, and afterwards to the

* *Lar* signifies *the ground* upon which a house is built, and is also applied to the *floor* of a house: hence the *Lares* or *familiar deities* of the Romans.

Saxons, by the appellation of *Picts:* their genuine name was that of *Draonaich.*

Foundations of houses of the Draonaich or Picts are to be seen in many parts of the Highlands, as well as in the low country of Scotland. In the west end of the Valley of Urquhart, on the west side of Lochness, they are numerous, and are all of a round figure. One of these is more conspicuous, is upon an eminence, and contains more space or larger area than any of the rest: It is more striking to the eye, a considerable quantity of stones yet remaining to be seen in a regular circular form; and it gets the name of *castle,* denoting it to have been a house of strength, the residence of a person of an order or rank superior to the inhabitants of the other houses. One of the foundations of the houses exhibits clearly two circles of stones, one within the other; these were covered with the same roof, and served as different apartments. Several of the foundations of such circular houses are still to be seen in the level moorland lying between the town of Nairn and Campbeltown, near Fort-George or Arderseer, which, as shall be observed in another place, was within the Pictish territory. The round foundations of houses seen on the west side of Lochness, are situated within the limits of that district of country which was by the ancients denominated the Caledonian Forest, and must have derived the name of *Draonaich,* or *Picts' houses,* from their being

the habitations of the labourers of the ground, who had universally the name of *Draoneaich* applied to them by the western Gael; and to this day an industrious labourer of the ground is called by the Highlanders, *Draoneach*.*

Those curious fabrics of rude art still to be seen in Glenelg, on the west coast of the county of Inverness, opposite to the Island of Skye, are supposed by some people to have been built by the Norwegians or Danes, who had got possession of the Western Islands of Scotland. These monuments of antiquity are described by the ingenious Mr Pennant,† and taken notice of by the learned Dr Macpherson.‡

It would be rash to admit that these structures were the works of the Norwegian or Danish invaders and conquerors of the Western Isles of Scotland. That they were edifices of strength, and fit to be the receptacles of a considerable number of people; that they served also as watch-towers, so placed as to communicate intelligence of enemies, may be admitted with safety. It is

* The Irish called the Picts *Cruinaich*; the only difference is the initial letter *C* in place of *D*. See KEATING'S History. But it is remarkable that the Irish word for *artist* is *druinach*.

† PENNANT'S Tour.

‡ Critical Dissertations on the Origin and Antiquities of the Ancient Caledonians. A minute and correct description of them, and also of the names by which they were distinguished, are to be found in GORDON'S Itinerarium Septentrionale, p. 166.

to be considered, however, that the building of those edifices, particularly in Glenelg, must have been attended with immense labour and difficulty. The stones with which those structures are built, are many of them of great weight and size, and must have been brought from parts of the country at a great distance from the towers. No such stones are to be found in the whole extent of the valley where the towers stand. Stones of similar size, shape, and dimensions, it is said, are to be found near the summits of some of the high mountains which form one side of the valley. The great mountain of Ben-Nevis, near Fort-William, is 1640 yards in height. This mountain is not of a conical figure, terminating in a sharp point, like many others of the highest mountains in Scotland; the summit is a plain, exhibiting in abundance such stones as those with which the Glenelg towers are built. All the stones are flat-sided parallelograms; their edges are right lines terminating in regular angles: they are capable of being closely joined, and built in such manner as that the superincumbent stones are made to cover both ends of the immediately subjacent stones all round the building. This mode of building without mortar, called dry-stone work, was not unknown to the ancient Gael; it is practised by their descendants at this day. Such towers as those now remaining in Glenelg, could be executed with the same materials, by many persons now living in the High-

lands of Scotland, with equal neatness and sufficiency. Had those towers been built by enemies, it is to be presumed the natives of Scotland would be disposed to give them every possible interruption. The collection of stones of such regular figures as were necessary for such buildings was extremely difficult, and the collectors and carriers of them were liable to constant annoyance from their enemies. It is evident, that the raising of structures of such prodigious difficulty and labour required security and peace. That the Danes or Norwegians, and the Gael, were equally capable of building such edifices, there is no good reason to entertain any doubt; but that these towers were built by the native Gael, and not by foreigners, appears to be in no small degree probable. They are of an uncommon construction, and different from any of those antique edifices to be seen in the islands possessed by the Danes. The double walls present a singular mode of building; the intermediate space is floored with large thin flat stones called flags, the ends of which are inserted in the walls, and prove that the buildings were intended to be strong and durable, and not like the common wooden houses of a pastoral people, which could be easily taken to pieces, removed to, and rebuilt in other situations. The circular spaces between the walls were capable of containing a considerable number of people, and were therefore not intended

merely for the accommodation of one family, but occasionally to be receptacles for concentred forces, to serve as garrisons for the natives, to enable them to act with more united energy and vigour against an invading or plundering enemy.

That they were built before the introduction of Christian names, is evinced by the following metrical lines, repeated by the common people in the country of Glenelg:

" Mo cherer mac maolé fionné
" A dhfhag mi air stratha n' aon ghlinn
" Mo Chalaman mo Throdan treun
" M' Eletha agus mo Chonull."

Which, literally translated, run thus:

" My four bald fair sons,
" Whom I left in the strath * of one valley;
" My Calman, my strong Trodan,
" My Eletha, and my Conul."

These are Gaelic, and not Norwegian or Danish names. By the names of these ancient men of note, the four towers in that valley of Glenelg, called Glenbeg or Little Glen, are at this day denominated and distinguished by the

* *Strath*,—low lying grounds or bottom of a valley, through which generally a river runs.

common people. Two of these towers still remain, though not whole or entire; the other two have been destroyed by unhallowed hands, and taken away to build the barracks of Bernera, standing at the bottom of the larger valley of Glenelg. Those curious stones, laid with such admirable skill, and collected with such wonderful industry by our remote ancestors, were to be confounded with common stones of irregular figures, to be hidden from the eye by cement and mortar, after the manner of more improved ages in the arts of architecture. Thus those curious monuments of antiquity were pulled asunder, and swept away, to gratify the mean avarice of servants in the pay of Government. Disgraceful barbarity! It is to be hoped that the proprietor of those singular monuments of rude architecture, will in future pay particular attention to the preservation of their remains, which cannot but afford a delicious entertainment to the eye of curiosity.

Many vestiges still remain of circular buildings, which, from their situations on eminences of difficult access, announce their having been fortresses or strong-holds; but we have observed none which would lead to the conclusion that they were built wholly of stone, though to a certain height it appears, from the quantity of stones lying on the circular foundation, they were built of stones without cement. We mean not to include in these buildings the remains of

those which have of late years been denominated, by travellers of curiosity, *vitrified forts*. These, too, are all of circular forms; our British not departing from the mode of building observed and practised by our Gallic ancestors. Where, from the quantity of stones lying on the foundation of those ancient houses, the stone building must have been considerable, the houses are distinguished by the appellation of *castle;* where they appear to be the residence of the common people, they get the name of *larach tai Draonaich, the foundation of the house of a Draoneach*. Of these we never observed but one where there appears to be the foundation of a double circular wall; but, as we have already said, the quantity of stones in the foundation shows, that the body of the house was composed of wood, and tapered from bottom to top, like the houses of the Gauls, as described by Strabo.

We have heard it said that *Draoneach* signified *a Druid*. This application of the term *Draonaich* is certainly erroneous. *Draothian* is the proper appellation of Druids, as shall be observed hereafter. The Druids were the high-priests of the Gallic religion: their houses must have been few in number; whereas those called *the houses of the Draonaich* are numerous, and situated closely to one another, so as to demonstrate that they were the houses of the common people. The words of Cæsar, "Creberrima edificia Gallicis "consimilia," are proved to be applicable to

them, from ocular inspection of their remains at this day.

PROOF OF IDENTITY.

FURTHER proofs of the identity of people may be gathered from their stature and complexion, their manners and customs, their modes of living, their dress or manner of clothing themselves, their use of warlike weapons, their religious rites and persuasion, and their language. These shall be noticed in their order. The last, though furnishing the most powerful proof, and therefore seeming to claim priority in point of importance, shall close the subject; as several observations will occur in the course of considering the other matters of remark, which will serve to abridge this most decisive proof of identity.

The accounts which we have of the inhabitants of Europe from Greek and Roman historians, entitle us to conclude with certainty, that they were not the descendants of a people who could claim pretensions to any high degree of policy or refinement in the arts of life. Their manners and customs were those of a pastoral people, and were not distinguished by any strongly marked characteristic differences.

It is a fact confirmed by the testimonies of Greek and Roman writers, that the ancient inhabitants of Germany, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, bore a remarkably striking resemblance to each other in person and manners: They were alike patient of toil and hunger in their warlike and hunting expeditions; they were proud, choleric, displaying universally great courage and contempt of danger; when highly heated with resentment, they were ferocious and sanguinary; hospitable to strangers, grateful and tractable to friends; to enemies, while contention existed, fierce and unrelenting; capable of showing generous forgiveness to those who sought for mercy; they loved liberty, and hated slavery. Such was the abhorrence of the Caledonians to Roman dominion, that after the unfortunate battle fought at the foot of the Grampians, some of them in despair put their wives and children to death, rather than that they should fall under subjection to their enemies. "Satisq. constabat sævisse quos-"dam in conjuges ac liberos, tanquam misere-"rentur."* They submitted with pleasure to the legal government of their native princes, while it was tempered with mildness; but these they often deprived of authority, when it degenerated into harshness and injustice. The Britons, says Tacitus,† are prompt in giving obedience to the

* TACIT. Agric. c. 38.

† TACIT. Agric. c. 13.

sovereign, while injury and injustice are avoided; these they bear with marked discontent, being as yet subdued to give obedience, not slavish submission. "Ipsi Britanni delectum, ac tributa, "et injuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt si "injuriæ absint; has ægre tolerant, jam domiti "ut pareant, nondum ut serviant."* Their descendants are at this day most tenacious of the terms of their contracts and agreements, of which the strongest proofs have occurred in the army levies of Great-Britain, in the present and former wars carried on within the last century. They have been known to expose themselves even to suffer death, rather than to submit to be draughted into regiments in which they had not enlisted themselves to serve; though with those to which they had engaged to attach themselves, no dangers could appal them in the performance of their duty.

Cæsar remarked of the Gauls, that they were extremely credulous, and showed great curiosity and fondness for news. Credulity is natural to all mankind living in a state of rudeness and simplicity; doubt is the offspring of reflecting experience and philosophic inquiry: curiosity bespeaks an active and vigorous mind, and lays the foundation of the greatest social improvements, and of the most important acquisitions in every species of knowledge. This disposition of mind the Gauls possessed so highly, that it was usual

* Tacit. Agric. c. 13.

among them to stop travellers, and oblige them to communicate what they heard and knew. The common people surrounded merchants in towns, and pressed them to disclose whence they came, and the news of their country. "Est au- "tem hoc Gallicæ consuetudinis, uti et viatores "etiam invitos consistere cogant; et quod quis- "que eorum de quaque re audierit, aut cognove- "rit, quærant; et mercatores in oppidis vulgus cir- "cumsistat, quibus ex regionibus veniant, quasq. "res ibi cognoverint, pronunciare cogant."* It is well known, that the Gael of modern times display equal eagerness for news as their Gaelic ancestors were wont to show; though, more courteous than their progenitors, they arrest not the traveller's progress, but accompany him on his way, while they find their curiosity gratified by his conversation.

It is of little importance to remark, that the Gauls, and their descendants the Britons, were fond of intoxicating liquors. Were this circumstance to prove identity of race, then the ancient inhabitants of all the cold, and even the temperate regions of the earth, were a kindred people. It may be observed, however, that the Gauls made a liquor or drink of barley, which, according to Diodorus Siculus,† they called ζυθος, translated in Latin *zithus*. How the υ of the Greeks was pronounced, is a question in which the

* Cæs. de Bell. Gal. lib. iv. c. 5.

† Lib. v. c. 26.

learned are not agreed. The Gaelic word for *the juice* of any substance is *sugh* or *suth; suthan* is a liquor made by the mixture of water with a farinaceous substance known in Scotland by the name *suans*, in England called *flummery;* when coagulated by the force of fire, *soot* is called *suthai;* all expressive of the juice of any substance; *suthai, the juice of a house:* And if the historian meant an imitation of the Gaelic word, modified by a pronunciation accommodated to a Grecian ear, it may afford some reason for inferring that the υ, in pronunciation, bore more resemblance to the English vowel *u* than to the Italian vowel *i.*

A great belly was to the Gauls so offensive, that if a young man should in that respect exceed in measure the length of a certain belt or girdle, he was punished by a fine.* The modern Gael consider a prominent belly and fat paunch as a great misfortune.

The similarity of person and complexion of the Gauls and Britons was remarked by Diodorus Siculus, in terms worthy of notice: "Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται "τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν εἰσιν ὑψηλοὶ, ταῖς δὲ σαρξὶ καθυγροὶ καὶ λευκοὶ· ταις "δὲ κόμαις ὐ μόνον ἐκ φύσεως ξανθοὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ της κατασκευης ἐπιτη- "δύσιον αὐξειν τὴν φυσικὴν της χρόας ἰδιότητα. Τετάνυ γαρ ἀπεπλύμενοι "σμῶντες τὰς τρίχας συνεχῶς, καὶ ἀπο των μετώπων ἐπι την κορυφὴν, "καὶ τὺς τένοντας ἀναστῶσιν." "Procera his sunt corpo-

* STRABO, lib. iv. p. 199.

" ra; caro succulenta atq. candida. Cæsariem " non modo natura gestant rufam: sed arte quoq. " nativam coloris proprietatem augere student. " Calcis enim lixivia frequenter capillos lavant, " eosq. a fronte ad verticem, atq. inde ad cer- " vicem retorquent."*

The bodies of the Gauls were large, fair, and succulent. Their hair was not only yellow by nature, but they studied to increase by art the native property of its colour. They moistened it with water mixed with chalk, and twisted it from the front to the crown of the head, extending the plaits behind. To this chalky mixture the Gauls, says Pliny, added soap. This was an invention of the Gauls for reddening the hair; it was made of suet and ashes. " Prodest et " sapo, Galliarum hoc inventum rutilandis capil- " lis. Fit ex sebo et cinere."† Were there no other circumstances to determine the descent of the Britons from the Gauls than the size of their persons and the colour of their hair, the ancient Germans might lay as good a claim as the Gauls to the progeneration of the ancient Britons. " Namq. rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, " magni artus, Germanicam originem asseve- " rant."‡ " For the red hair and large limbs of " the Caledonians, bespeak a German original."

* Diod. Sic. lib. v. p. 212.

† Pliny, L. xxviii. c. 12.

‡ Tacit. Vita Agric. c. xi.

With respect to the stature of the Britons, Strabo gives his testimony. "Οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εὐμηκέστεροι "τῶν Κελτῶν εἰσὶ, καὶ ἧσσον ξανθότριχες, χαυνότεροι δὲ τοῖς σώμασι· "σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ μεγέθους· ἀντίπαιδας γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἴδομεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τῶν "ὑψηλοτάτων αὐτόθι ὑπερέχοντας καὶ ἡμιποδίῳ· βλαισοὺς δὲ καὶ τ' ἄλλα "οὐκ εὐγράμμους τῇ οὐσάσει." "Viri Gallos proceritate superant, minusque flavos habent crines: laxioribus autem sunt corporibus: magnitudinis argumentum esto, quod nos ipsi, adolescentes Romæ vidimus, qui etiam semisse pedes superarent altissimos homines: erant autem pedibus male suffulti, et reliqua corporis lineamenta constitutionem non elegantem referebant."* "The Britons exceed the Gauls in stature; their hair is less yellow, their bodies are of a more lax temperament. Let it serve as a presumption of their great size, that I myself have seen at Rome young men who exceeded, by half a foot, the tallest men there; but they were not well shaped, either in limbs or general contexture of body."

It is well known that the excessive growth of the human body is not favourable to symmetry of person. The want of proportion and configuration observed by Strabo, was applied to all the young men he saw without exception. It is submitted, therefore, as a just inference, that their growth was excessive, compared to the general stature of their own countrymen; and that their

* STRABO, Geogr. lib. iv. p. 200.

appearance at Rome was intended to gratify public curiosity, and could not serve as a just criterion for determining the bodily size, figure, and shape of the Britons. Cæsar, who took particular notice of the length of their hair, "capil- "loq. sunt promisso," makes no remark upon their extraordinary stature. He says their houses were like those of the Gauls, "ædificia fere "Gallicis consimilia;" and that the inhabitants of Kent, in particular, differed not much from the Gauls in manners and customs: that all the Britons dyed themselves with woad, which produced a sky colour, and by this means they appeared with a more horrible aspect in battle. "Ex his omnibus longa sunt humanissimi, qui "Cantium incolunt neque multum a Gallica dif- "ferunt consuetudine.—Omnes vero se Britanni "vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleum efficit colorem, "atq. hoc horribiliori sunt in pugna aspectu." If their bodily size had been superior to that of the Gauls, it is to be presumed that Cæsar would not have omitted to mention so notable a mark of distinction. The wearing of whiskers upon the upper lip may be observed to import an Asiatic descent: "Atq. omni parte corporis rasa, præter "caput et labrum superius;" such having been an universal custom among the eastern nations.

The taste and method of plaiting and dressing the hair of the head, as practised by the Gauls, entitles us to conclude, that hair of a fair, reddish, or yellowish colour, was the most esteemed among

them. In proof of the prevalence of a similar taste among the ancient Britons, we avoid to lay any stress upon the golden yellow locks of Ossian's female beauties, as exhibited in the English translation of the works of that most admirable ancient bard. It is matter of just regret, that the translator has never favoured the public with the whole originals of those most curious and valuable remains of British poetical genius; yet, that the Gaelic mode of dressing the hair of the head continued to gratify the taste of the northern Britons in the days of Fingal, we have it still in our power to adduce a very curious piece of evidence.

Cuchullin was a hero of high renown, and a cotemporary of Fingal. A description, of which we shall take notice more fully in another place, is given of him in the following words:

" Libhor luinnir laionnir deghmhaise
" Air a bhel na tri fuilt dhēc
" Falt donn ri tonnibh a chinn
" 'S falt sleamhinn dearg air uachgar
" 'S falt fionnbhui air dhatha'n oir
" 'S na farcill air a bhar gu chunnabhail
" Dha m b'anaim Cuchulinn mac Seamh Sualti
" Mhic Ui, Mhic Ai, Mhic Ai ele."

Literally Translated:

" Of fine complexion, bright, shining, highly " elegant, upon whom appears thirteen kinds of

" hair; brown hair on the prominences of the " head, smooth red hair on the surface, bright " yellow hair of the colour of gold, tied with " ringlets on the top. His name was Cuchullin, " the son of Seamv* Sualti, the son of Ui, the " son of Ai, the son of another Ai."

In the days of Gildas, the Gael, those of them who inhabited the western division of Scotland being then called Scots, as well as those of them who inhabited the eastern division of Scotland, and were called Picts, retained the taste of their ancestors as to cherishing the growth of the hair of the head. His words are remarkable.

When the Roman armies had withdrawn from Britain, the Scots and Picts made plundering incursions into the territories of the provincial Britons, and it would appear were guilty of excessive cruelties. The venerable and sapient author, who was himself a Briton, held the Scots and Picts, whom he calls the ravagers of Britain, in the highest detestation and abhorrence; and thus he describes them: " Itaq. illis ad sua re- " meantibus, emergunt certatim de curucis quibus " sunt trans Scythicam vallem evecti, quasi in " alto Titane, incalescenteq. caumate, de arctissi- " mis foraminum caverniculis fusci vermiculorum " cunei, tetri Scotorum Pictorumq. greges mori- " bus ex parte dissidentes, et una eademq. sangui-

* Called by Mr M'Pherson, " the son of Semo."

"nis fundendi aviditate concordes, furciferosq. "*magis vultus pilis, quam corporum pudenda, pu-* "*dendisq. proxima vestibus tegentes.*"*

We learn from the description of the Scots and Picts, as given by the more civilized and pacific learned Briton, that though somewhat different in manners, they were in all other respects similar; particularly their dress and outward bodily appearance admitted of no distinction. Their privy parts, and the members of the body next to them, were so scantily covered, that their countenances appeared to be more laid over with hair than their bodies with clothes. It may be observed, that as mankind advance in arts and civilization, and have it in their power to command in greater perfection the necessaries and conveniencies of life, they are disposed to reckon among their comforts the defence of their bodies, by suitable clothing, from the inclemencies of the weather. The more refined Britons of present days are not reconciled to the dress of the descendants of the ancient Gael, as worn in modern times; and although the nudities of the body are not so conspicuous with them as with their ancestors in the days of Gildas, the exposure of any portion of the inferior members of the body, is still accounted as a symptom of rudeness and barbarity, while the display of a considerable portion of the superior members of the body of

* Epistola Sapientis GILDÆ, c. 15.

the most delicate female beauty, in native simplicity, is relished as the delicious fruit of bashful elegance and refinement.

The male descendants of the ancient Gael have, for ages, ceased to pay the same attention to the ornamental arrangement of the hair of the head, as was practised by their ancestors; the female sex, however, more attached to personal decoration, and to the display of those embellishments which add to the allurements of beautiful form, have retained to the present times a taste for long braided hair. The *falt cualeanach*, or *twisted and braided hair*, furnishes evidence of an ancient method of arranging the hair of the head, which, as being the result of artificial contrivance, more troublesome than convenient, must have had for its object the gratification of a prevalent taste in the disposal and diversification of the natural cover of the head.

A poet who lived some centuries back, describes the female object of his love in these terms:

" Suil ghorm fód' rosg
" Do ghruaighin core
" Gur gilé do chorp na sneac
" Mar chobhar traí
" Ri aingeal lā
" Do bhrai is aille dealbh
" Mar eala bhan
" A bhidh air smamh
" Mar eiteag ann an carnn

" Cul fada rē
" Air dhreach nan teud
" Do choimheas fein
" Ri or an grein
" As t eugais bith' mi marbh
" Do chul cruachach
" Bachlach suuaghar
" Lumalan dual gu bar
" Beul is binné
" Deud is gilé
" Meoir is grinne tagh *
" Do chiochan cura
" As taitneach leum
" Air uchc na'n tuirgheal ban."

Literally Translated:

" Blue thy eyes, red thy cheek, thy body is " whiter than snow, like foam on the sea-shore " in the sunshine of day. Thy neck of the most " beautiful shape, like the swimming white swan; " a transparent pebble among a heap of stones. " Thy hair, long and regular on thy back, is of " the colour of strings.† Thy semblance is like " gold in the sun. Without thee I shall die! Thy " curling hair, twining in beautiful hue, abound- " ing with locks to the top. A mouth the most " musical, teeth the whitest, fingers of the nicest

* The word *tagh* applies to the joints of the fingers; *i.e.* joined in the neatest and most delicately finished manner.

† Alluding to the shining strings of the harp.

" form. Thy fragrant breasts are my delight,
" on the eminence of white turrets."

" Formose stant pectoré mammæ."

Another specimen of the properties of female beauty is expressed in another poem or song of later date, in these words:

" Thugas ceist do mhnai ghasta
" Is glan leachc sa cul mar an t'or
" Camalubach bar bachalach
" Gruaith dhaite deud snaite mar nōs
" Suilin chorach mar christal
" Binnis theud ann am bridol a bheoil
" Aghai sholais an comh sri
" Co's aill i na neonan nan ros."

Literally Translated:

" My love was an excellent woman of bright
" complexion; her back,* like gold in twining
" locks, high raised curls, cheeks of finest dye,
" teeth polished to the purest white, prominent
" eyes like crystal, the music of strings in the
" motion of her lips,† a countenance of light,
" contending in beauty with the daisy and the
" rose."

* Hair hanging on her back.

† *Bridol,*—the literal meaning of this word is *sense in motion*; *bridol a beoil, the moving sense of her mouth.*

The hair of the head has been considered as highly ornamental to the beauty of personal form, in the ruder as well as the refined periods of our history. If our remote ancestors used a mixture of chalk and water, our modern beaux substitute a fine powder of wheat: if those added a composition of soot and ashes, to aid their admired colour, these disdain not the use of hog's-lard, scented with liquids of aromatic flavour. In Ovid's beautiful description of the Indian Athis, his fine hair, moistened with myrrh, finishes the portrait.

" Indutus chlamydem Tyriam, quam limbus obibat
" Aureus; ornabant aurata monilia collum,
" Et madidos myrrha curvum crimali capillos.

Metam. lib. v. 53.

The famous Conn of the hundred battles is described in a poem of great poetical merit; among other personal qualities of high distinction, his hair is not forgotten.

" A ghruai chorcar mar iubhar caoin
" Suil chorach gorm fo mhala chaol
" Fholt urar orbhui clannach grinn."

" His red cheek was like the polished yew;
" his blue swelling eye under an arched narrow
" brow; his hair, fresh, yellow, curling, neat."

Miss Brooke, who deserves honourable mention, in the Reliques of Irish Poetry,* of which we shall have occasion to take more particular notice hereafter, inserts a passage from a poem called *Boili Oisin*, or *Rhapsody of Oisin*, in which the personal description and character of *Finn, Fionn, the Fair*, are given; the last verse of which applies not to Finn, who is universally called the son of Cumhail, but to the famous hero Gaul, who was the son of Morni; for it is said,

"A chneas niar a chailc bhan,
"Mac Muirne bha caomh."

"His body like the white chalk, the mild son "of Murne."

In the ancient poems, the hero whom Miss Brooke calls *Finn*, is often called *Fionn*, which signifies literally *the Fair*; but he is frequently called *Fionn Ghael*, that is, *the Fair Gael*, and commonly styled by the renowned name of *Fionn Ghael nambuagh*, or *Fingal of victories*. According to the verse quoted in the Reliques of Irish Poetry in Oisin's Rhapsody, the verse where the colour of his hair is noticed runs thus:—

* Page 133.

" Bha glan gorm a rosg
" Do bhi fholt mar an ōr
" Sgeimh Rí bha buan
" Do bhi a ghruai mar a nōs."

Thus Translated:

" Bright were his blue rolling eyes, and his " hair like flowing gold! Lovely were the charms " of his unaltered beauty, and his cheeks like " the glowing rose!"

More literally thus:

" Bright blue were his eyes;" (*rosg* signifies *the eye-lashes*, here put for *the eyes*,) " his hair was " like gold; the beauty of the king was lasting; " his cheek was like the daisy;" *i. e.* pure red and white.

Majestic stature, great strength, lofty prowess, a graceful figure, and a loud sounding voice, were accomplishments of a warrior; but, in common life, language soft and melodious, complaisance and elegance of manner, were regarded as highly estimable qualities. In describing personal beauty, a slender arched eye-brow, ornamental eye-lashes, those natural ornaments white teeth, the hair of the head disposed in flowing tresses, waving ringlets, locks nicely adjusted, and curls, were deemed equally the embellishments of a warrior as of the beauteous fair.

" Et dignos Baccho, dignos et Apollini crines."
Metam. lib. iii. 421.

It appears, then, that if the ancient Gauls cherished and esteemed *hair* as a natural and beautiful ornament, their British descendants retained in great perfection the taste of their Gallic ancestors. Although the favourite colour of hair was with the Gael that of fair or yellow, we find black hair esteemed as a personal ornament. Fraoch was a hero of great valour and beauty: He was drowned when swimming towards an island in a lake called Lochluan, whence he was to bring a garland of the fruit of the roan tree, or mountain ash, as a present to his beloved fair one. His hair is thus described:

" Maise a's caise do bhi na fhalt
" 'S duibhe na fithach bar fhuilt Fhraoich."

" Elegance of curl was in his hair, its crop
" was blacker than the raven."

A young man of beautiful form attended one of Fingal's hunting parties: He had a black dog of uncommon strength and spirit; he proclaimed a general challenge and defiance to the people, to produce a dog to fight his black dog. The challenge was accepted; a great number of dogs engaged, but the famous black dog overcame and killed all that encountered him. Fingal observ-

ing that a great number of his people's dogs had been killed by the black dog, called upon his famous dog Bran, by whom the black dog was vanquished and killed.

" Chunna sinn tithin air sealg
" Fir fhalluinn dearg 's a choin dui'
" Sgile na gath lō a chorp
" A's tharlla dha fholt a bhi du'."

" We saw joining the hunt a man with a red " mantle and a black dog; whiter than the beam " of day was his body, it befel him that his hair " was black."

The mode of expression used in the original denotes, that his hair was not of the most esteemed colour. In another part of the poem, the young man who had lost his dog, after mentioning his name, and the place of his residence, upon being questioned by Ossian, thus expresses himself:

" Eibhinn, Ossian, gum be mainam
" Ghluaise mise bho stoirm n'an con
" 'S ioma gruagach a baille dreach
" B' orbhui falt as bu ghuirm suil
" Dh fhag mi an tuloch na'n torc
" A bheradh biadh a noe dham chu."

" Eivin, Ossian, is my name, I moved from the " howls of dogs; many a fine haired youth of most " beautiful complexion, of yellowest golden hair " and bluest eye, I left on the hill of boars, who " would this night give food to my dog."

We shall conclude these observations as to the similarity of the stature and colour of the ancient Gauls and Gael of Britain, with the words of Ammianus Marcellinus:* " Celsioris staturæ " et candidi pene Galli sunt omnes, et rutili." " The Gauls are almost all of a fair complexion, " red haired, and of a larger stature," it may be added as the author's meaning, " than the Ro- " mans."

IDENTITY OF PEOPLE INFERRED FROM THE USE OF WARLIKE WEAPONS.

THE armour of the ancient Gauls is described by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus. The similarity of weapons carried by the ancient Caledonians to those of the Gauls is remarkable: The swords used by both were large without sharp points, and their shields were similar. There are enumerated a variety of warlike instruments which

* Lib. xv. c. 12.

the Gauls used in battle; among these was the *lance*, which, according to Diodorus, they called *lonchoi* or *lankia*. The original word is still preserved by the Gael. *Lann* signifies now commonly *the blade of a sword*, though it appears that was not its original and only signification, for a *pikeman* was called *lannsaighe* or *lannsaich*, which expresses literally *a pike pusher* or *thruster*. *Lannadh* is significant of the exercise of warlike instruments for destruction, implying what is in English understood by the expression *put to the sword*. An *arrow* is *saghit*: The Latins preserved the Gaelic name in their *sagitta*. *Sath* signifies *to thrust* or *push*; *giota* signifies *appendage* or *addition*.

Ancient authors have communicated the names of warlike instruments used by the Gauls, which seemed to be peculiar to them. The Gallic name for a sword is not mentioned in any author, so far as we know. The Roman *gladius* is the *claidh* of the Gael. Varro derives the word *gladius* from *clades*, *slaughter*: both bear a close affinity to the Gaelic words for *sword* and *slaughter* or *conquest*. *Claoidh* is to *vanquish*; *cloidhte*, *overcome*, *vanquished*. In making remarks upon the names which occur in ancient authors for the warlike weapons of the Gauls, we shall take the aid of that most respectable and learned antiquarian Camden, who, in support of his opinion respecting the descent of the Welsh people from the Gauls, directs attention to a variety of

words used in the Welsh language, as a proof of the ancient Britons being of Gaulish extraction. It is curious to observe, how much the Gaelic language, as spoken in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland, aids and illustrates the learned Camden's observations drawn from the Welsh language.

CAMDEN'S *Brit.*—"Servius tells us, that valiant "men were by the Gauls called *gessi*;* and *guass-* "*dewr* among the Britons signifies *a stout* and "*vatiant man.*" Camden's Annotator remarks, that *givas* signifies *a servant*, and *guasdewr*, *a stout servant.*

We are told by Servius, that the Gauls called brave men *gæsi:* "Gæsos quoq. Galli appella- "bant viros fortes." VIRG. *Æn.* viii. 662. What sort of weapon the *gæsum* of the Gauls was, whether a spear or a missile weapon, it is not agreed among the learned. These words of Cæsar, "Hostes ex omnibus partibus, signo dato, "decurrere; lapides, gæsaque in vallum conji- "cere,"† seem to decide the question in favour of the opinion, that *gæsum* was a missile weapon, having been thrown, as were stones, into the trenches of the enemy. Livy distinguishes this weapon from the spear,‡ when he describes the Gauls as "gæsis binis armati." The circumstance of being armed with two missile weapons

* GÆSUM. † Bell. Gal. B. iii. c. 4.

‡ B. viii. 8. B. ix. 36.

excluded not the use of a spear or sword in close fight. Hand-grenades communicated the name of grenadiers to a certain portion of the modern armies of Europe, though soldiers of that description were not limited to the use of those missile weapons.

It is to be presumed, that with the establishment of the Roman government in Gaul, the use of the Gallic warlike weapons gave way to those of the Romans. That, however, the Gael of Albion were well acquainted with the instrument called by the Romans *gæsum*, the Gaelic language furnishes ample testimony. It may be observed, that the Greek authors called this weapon *gaisos* and *gaison;* and there can be no doubt with respect to the Roman pronunciation of the word, the difference of the Greek and Roman pronunciation consisting only in the termination of the word. The two vowels *a e*, though written commonly in Latin as the sign of a diphthong, imply not necessarily that they were pronounced as a coalition of vowels forming one sound. In the *gaison* of the Greeks and the *gæsum* of the Latins, there is reason to infer, that the vowels *a e* in the one, as well as *a i* in the other, were both equally heard in pronunciation.

It is not to be doubted, that both the Greeks and Romans, in pronouncing Gallic words, preserved, as nearly as their organs of speech, accustomed to the pronunciation of their own languages, easily admitted, the Gallic sound of the

word attempted to be imitated, with the addition of their lingual terminations. Hence, suppose the word in the language of the Gauls was *gaiso*, the Greeks would call it *gaisos* or *gaison*, and the Latins *gæsum*. The Gaelic word for that warlike weapon was lost with its use, but its name is preserved in a variety of words. *Gaisge* signifies *valour; gaisgeach, a valiant man; gaisgeal, gaisgeanta, in a valiant manner, valiantly.* Thus, then, it is evident, that at some remote period the Cimmerich of South Britain, the Gael of North Britain, and the Gael of Ireland, used the Gallic warlike weapon called by the Greeks *gaison*, by the Romans *gæsum;* and that it was known among the ancient Britons universally by the same name as was applied to it by the continental Gauls.

CAMDEN'S *Brit.*—"As *phalanx* was the proper "name of *a legion* among the Macedonians, so "was *caterva* among the Gauls, as you may see "in Vegetius. Nor is this word yet out of date "among our Britons, who term a troop *caturfa*, "and *war, kad*, and the warlike strength of a "legion, *caderne;* in some copies of Vegetius "it is read *caterna.*"

Annotator.—"To this *kad* may not improperly "be referred *cateia*, which was a sort of *warlike* "*weapon* among the Gauls, as you have it in "Isidore. *Katyrva*, or *katerva*, at this day "denotes in British *an infinite number:* but for- "merly, it is probable, it signified *a vast army;*

" for *kad* does not imply *war* in general, but *a* " *set battle*, and *kadarn* is *strong*."

A *phalanx*, among the Macedonians, was *an armed body of men consisting of* 8000. The Romans had their *legio*, the Gauls their *caterva*, according to the Roman pronunciation of the word. These armed bodies of men had their distinctive national appellations. . . .

It has been observed by Camden, that in some copies of Vegetius the word is read *caterna*. In whatever manner the Romans modified the Gallic pronunciation of the word used by the Gauls to denote a body of armed men, corresponding to the Macedonian *phalanx*, or the Roman *legion*, it admits of little doubt, that the ancient Gallic word was *catern*. It will be observed, that the Welsh have preserved the word in their *kaderne*. The Gael called *battle men, cathernn; a fighting man, cathernnach*. In former times, when plundering expeditions were frequent in the Highlands of Scotland, small predatory bands of men, who hid themselves in the woods in the daytime and sallied forth in the night, were called *cathernnachaoill*, literally *the fighting men of the woods;* and, in common language, the word *cathernnach* is currently applied to *a clever tight fellow. Smath a saoghal cathernnaich*, is a common proverbial expression, implying, *that a moderate duration of time is a good life for a cathernnach.*

The meaning of the Welsh word *kad*, as given by Camden's Annotator, is the same with that

of the Gaelic word *cath*, which applies to a *set battle*, and not *war* in general, which is expressed by *coshath*, signifying literally *general* or *common battle*, pronounced *coghadh* or *cogadh*, the gutteral *ch* being softened in pronunciation.

The *cateia* of the Gauls is the *gath* of the Gael, signifying *a sting*, *dart*, or *javelin; gath na greane* is *a sun-beam*.

"Pausanias tells us, that the Gauls whom "Brennus led into Greece, called that sort of "fight which consists of three horses a-breast, "*trimarcia; for an horse*, saith he, was among "the Gauls called *marca*. Now this is pure-"ly a British word; for *tri* with them signifies "*three*, and *march*, *a horse*."

Tri in the Gaelic language signifies *three;* the word *march* is obsolete both in Ireland and Scotland; but *marcheach*, *a rider*, and *marchceacha*, *riding*, are in common use. It may be observed, in general, that although the Welsh language has been much overwhelmed by a variety of words perfectly foreign to the Gaelic language, as spoken in greatest purity in some parts of Ireland, and universally in the Highlands of Scotland; yet a great portion of the Welsh language, especially the radicals of that language, somewhat varied in pronunciation from that of the Irish and Scottish Gael, are pure Gaelic. The Welsh having retained many original Gaelic words, which, though anciently known and preserved in compounds, an instance of which occurs

in the word *march*, sufficiently demonstrate the original identity of descent of the ancient British people.

The Gauls used a weapon which the Romans called *matara* or *mataris*. Cæsar mentions this weapon in one of his battles fought against the Helvetians: "*Et nonnulli inter carros rotasque*, "mataras *ac tragulas subjiciebant, nostrosq. vul-* "*nerabant.*"* *Matadh* was the name of a weapon known among the Gael of Scotland down to a late period. It was commonly carried below the arm-pit, and therefore got the name of *matadh achalaise*. Livy mentions it in these words, "*Lævo humero materi prope trajecto;*" it would seem to be borne upon, or hung from the left shoulder. The Latin word *axilla*, the Greek μαχαλη, *machale*, *arm-pit*, appear to be modifications of the Gaelic word *achalaise*.

CAMDEN, *Cetos*.—"Cæsar relates in his Ephe- "merides or journals, as we have it from Servius, "that once being taken by the enemy in Gaul, "and carried away on horseback in his armour, "they were met by a Gaul that knew him, who "insultingly cried out, *Cetos Cæsar*; which in "the Gaulish language was as much as to say, "*Let go Cæsar*. Now *geduch*, among the Bri- "tons, is a word of the same import."

It is probable that Cæsar had not written the words according to their just pronunciation, or

* CÆS. lib. i. c. 26.

that they may have been erroneously transcribed through ignorance of the language. The Gael of Scotland and Ireland would express the words signifying *Let go Cæsar*, by the words *leig os*, or *leig as Cæsar*. *Ced* signifies *leave, license, without restraint; ced os* might be understood to mean *let go*, but *ced do* would be the proper expression, which signifies *leave to*, being of the same import as *leig as*, signifying literally, *let go*, spoken imperatively.

CAMDEN, *Brachæ*.—"It appears from several "authors, that the Gauls used a certain sort of "garment, which, in their language, they called "*brachæ*: that these were also common to our "Britons, is proved by that verse of Martial, "*"Quam veteres brachæ, Britonis pauperis."* "Then, the coarse *brachæ* the poor Britons "wore."

Annotator.—"Foul tattered clothes are by the "present Britons called *brati, bratian*."

Diodorus Siculus gives a minute description of the clothing of the Gauls. "Εσθῆτι δὲ χρῶνται κατα- "πλακτικῇ, χιτῶσι μὲν βαπτοῖς, χρώμασι ποικίλοις διηθισμένοις, και "ανεξυρίσι, οὓς ἰδίᾳ βράκας προσαγορεύουσιν. ἐπιπορπῶνται δὲ σάγους "ῥαβδώτους, ὑφ μεν τοῖς χιμῶσι, δασεῖς κατα δὲ τὸ θέρος ψιλοὺς, πλινθίοις "πολυανθέσι και πυκνοῖς διειλημμένους." "Vestitus illis miri- "ficus: Tunicas enim variis coloribus imbutas, ac "ceu floribus conspersas, caligasque, bracas illas "nominatas, gestant. Saga etiam virgata, per "hyemem densa, per æstatem tenuiora, crebris-

"que tessellis florum instar distincta, fibulis sub-
"nectunt."*

"They use clothes of a curious texture: they
"wear coats stained with various colours, as if
"sprinkled with flowers, and trowses, called by
"them *braca:* They tie with clasps striped plaids,
"of a thicker texture in winter than in summer,
"exhibiting frequent little squares like flowers."

One would think that the venerable author, had he not expressly told us that it was the clothing of the Gauls he had in his eye, was actually describing the dress of a Scottish Highlander in *triumhas.* This was a garment which covered the thighs and legs, forming together breeches and stockings, similar to the dress now called pantaloons. The *triumhas* was made of woollen stuff, chequered with alternate colours, commonly red and white, tesselated in the manner of a chess-board. The seams were ornamented with dangling knots, of the same colours with the garment. Party-coloured stuff got the name of *breacan,* from the word *breac,* which signifies *speckled, of diverse colours. Breacan* is the word by which the plaid of the Gael is constantly expressed. Virgil says of the Gauls, "*virgatis lucent*
"*sagulis;*" "they shine in striped little plaids."

Strabo describes the clothing of the Belgæ in this manner. "Σαγηφοροῦσι δὲ καὶ κομοτροφοῦσι καὶ ἀναξυρίσι
"χρῶνται περιτεταμέναις· ἀντὶ δὲ χιτώνων, σχιστοὺς χειριδωτοὺς φέρουσι

* Diod. Sic. Hist. lib. v. c. 30.

"μέχρι αἰδοίων καὶ γλουτῶν· ἡ δ' ἐρία, τραχεῖα μὲν, ἀκρόμαλλος δὲ· ἀφ' "ἧς τοὺς δασεῖς τάγους ἐξυφαίνουσιν, οὓς λαίνας καλοῦσιν."* "Saga "ferunt, comam alunt, braccis utuntur circum "extentis: loco tunicarum utuntur veste fissili "manicata, usque ad pudenda et nates demissa. "Lana eorum aspera est, sed ipsam proxime pel- "lem detonsa: ex ea densa saga texunt, quas "lænas vocant."—"They carry plaids, nourish "their hair, and use a vesture covering round "about. Instead of coats they wear a sleeved "fissile garment, falling down to the privy parts "and buttocks. Their wool is coarse and shaggy: "of it they weave a stuff which they call *læna*."

Upon the word *laina*, mentioned by Strabo, we have this note by the learned Casaubon. "Οὓς λαίνας καλοῦσι." "Qui? videtur enim indicare "Gallorum esse vocem, *Læna*. Varro L. l. iv. "p. 33. tamen vult esse Latinam. Læna, inquit, "quod de lana multa: duarum enim togarum "instar, ut antiquissimum mulierum ricinum: "sic hoc duplex virorum. Ego puto vocem "esse puram Græcam literula una truncatam. "Constat enim e Plutarcho Lænas nihil esse "aliud quam Græcorum, χλαίνας; sic dictas παρὰ τὸ "χλαίνειν; utrumq. autem, læna inquam et chlæna, "παχὺς erat ἱματίον et utrumq. χλαίνειν. Festus (*v.* "Læna) quoq. auctor est quosdam existimasse "lænam Græce quam χλαίνην dicunt esse appella- "tam, quosdam tamen Thusce."

* Strabo, lib. iv. p. 196.

Learned philologists have been at a loss to discover the derivation of the word *læna;* some of them being of opinion that it was of Latin origin, others, that it was pure Greek. Had these respectable critics been acquainted with the language of the Gael, they would have derived the word *læna* from the Gaelic language, and not from the Greek or Latin languages. The words *læna* and *chlæna* signify in Latin *a thick garment made of wool;* the last of which words is obviously the Greek χλαῖνα. The radical word from which both are derived is the Gaelic *clai*, which is pronounced with a nasal sound, precisely as a Frenchman would pronounce *clain*. *Clai, wool; a chlai, the wool:* that it was a Gallic word, the authority of Strabo is decisive. It is curious to observe, that the word *læna* signifies *a shirt* at this day, in the language of the Gael of Scotland and Ireland. The Welsh have not lost the word, though they express *shirt* by the word *krys*, which, in the language of the Gael, signifies *a girdle;* they have preserved it in their word *lhenn*, which signifies *a veil* or *curtain*. The *leane* of the Gael is that part of their clothing which is immediately in contact with the skin, and covers the body, and was, till of late years, made of wool. The use of linen shirts is now the prevalent fashion even among the common people in the Highlands of Scotland; yet many of them still wear woollen shirts. It has been remarked, that rheumatic complaints are now

more frequent among the Highlanders than in former times: They have no proper name for rheumatism; and the frequency of that complaint in these, compared with former times, may be ascribed to the use of linen instead of woollen shirts.

Both Diodorus and Strabo use the word ανακυρις to denote a particular vestment, which the first says the Gauls called *braca*. Strabo describes the clothing of the Gauls as consisting of the *sagum*, or an *upper garment* which seems to correspond with the *plaid* of the Gael; a sort of tunic which covered the body, but no part of the thighs or legs, and is descriptive of the short coat of the Gael; and a sort of breeches, which covered the inferior members of the body, similar to the *triumhas* or *trouse* of the Gael. That the term *braca* was peculiarly applied by the Gauls to their trouse, there are reasons for not admitting. The word *braca* is significant of any *tesselated* or *variegated apparel*: the *plaid* of the Gael is called *breacan*, as the principal variegated and most conspicuous garment, fit to cover the whole body and all its members. That portion of Italy which was called *Cisalpine Gaul*, was also called *Gallia Togata*; and the province of Narbonne, which was known by the appellation *Transalpine Gaul*, was also distinguished by the name of *Gallia Bracata*, intimating, that the Gauls on the Italian side of the Alps had assumed the Roman gown; while those on the Gallic side of those

mountains retained the ancient dress of the *bracæ*. This circumstance points out, that the principal garment which figured most to the eye was the cause of the distinctive appellation.

Tranquillus, who wrote the life of Cæsar, speaks of the Gauls in these words:

——————— "Iidem in curia
"Galli braccas deposuerunt; latum clavum sumpserunt."

The *latus clavus* was the *purple garment* that denoted senatorial dignity. It will readily occur, that the Gallic trouse was not here understood to be laid down, but a garment similar to the *breacan* of the Gael, an exterior vesture dropped by the Gauls when they assumed the *latus clavus*, or *purple gown*.

Aulus Gellius giving account of the *Sarmatæ*, says, "*Atq. ob sæva hyemis admodum assiduæ de-*
"*mersis in humum sedibus, specus aut suffossa*
"*habitant, totum* braccati corpus, *et nisi qua vi-*
"*dent etiam ora vestiti.*" This vestment evidently covered the whole body and all its members. Lib. ii. c. 1.

Tacitus, in his history, lib. ii. c. 20. "Quod
"versicolore sagulo, braccas barbarum tegmen
"indutus, togatos alloqueretur."

Ovid, speaking of the Scythians, says, "Pelli-
"bus et laxis arcent mala frigora braccis."

The Romans derived the word from the Gauls. This word they applied to a part, at least, of the

clothing of all the northern nations who wore a kind of loose trouse, but the radical meaning of the name is to be ascribed to the speckled and variegated colours of the vestments of the Gauls.

That the *sagum* of the Romans, the σαγος of the Greeks, was a Gallic word, and used to denote *clothes*, may be asserted on good authority. "Sagum, et vox et vestis Gallica, ut ex Varrone, "Isidore, et aliis constat."*

Prior to the knowledge of weaving the hair, fur or fleece of any animal, or down of any plant, into cloth for covering the body, the skins of animals, furnished with their natural hair or fur, would readily attract the attention of the primeval inhabitants of the earth living beyond the limits of the torrid zone, as a proper defence for the body against the inclemencies of seasons varying with the sun's apparent course. Without the tropical, and in the polar regions of the earth, animals' skins were first used as clothing for the human body: There were then no distinctions of forms of various vestments; one skin, or several skins sewed together, served as a cover for the human body. Any degree of knowledge of the arts of the first necessity, would put in practice the selection of the hair and fur of animals, matted or twisted together, as a lighter and less cumbersome, more pliant, and more easily adjusted cover for the body.

* Fabri Thes. *voce* Sagum.

This new species of artificial garment would be substituted in place of the hides of animals, and would serve to cover the human body, in immediate contact with the skin. The skin or hide, with or without its fur or hair, would be laid aside as ordinary apparel, and would only be resumed as a defence against the rigours of cold and wet weather. The skin or hide would then become an upper or outer garment, answerable to the use of that which the Romans denominated *sagum*, and the Greeks σαγη. Of this view of the origin and progress of clothing for the human body, the Gaelic language furnishes curious matter of evidence. *Clothes*, or any stuff woven for dress or covering, is in that language expressed by *edach*. *Ed* signifies, radically, *food;* hence *edo* of the Greeks and Latins: it signifies also *cattle*, which were the principal means of subsistence of primeval man. *Saick and saic* signified *the skin* or *hide of cattle* or *brute animals* in general; hence the denomination of *edach* for *clothes*.

Pomponius Mela mentions an African people, in the vicinity of Egypt, in these words: "*Primo-*" *res sagis velantur*, vulgus bestiarum pecudumq. " pellibus." De Situ Orb. lib. i. c. 8. The progress of the arts, with respect to clothing the body, may here be remarked. The rich wore *saga* of artificial and more expensive texture, while the *saga* of the vulgar consisted of the skins of wild beasts and cattle.

Cæsar recounted that the ancient Britons of the inland country sowed no corn, but lived on milk and flesh, and were clothed with skins. This account might have been true in part, but the authority of all posterior writers on Roman and British affairs entitles us to assert with confidence, that all the Britons, through the whole extent of the island of Britain, were considerably advanced in the knowledge of the arts of the first necessity when the Romans invaded their country. Their knowledge they received from their ancestors the Gauls, communicated to them by their forefathers, who had, in the course of ages, migrated westward from Asiatic countries, and had carried with them practical skill and intelligence of the arts of life, greatly beyond what is found to exist among mankind, living in that stage of social existence known by the denomination of the savage state of man.

CAMDEN, *Dusii.*—"We learn from St Austine "and Isidore, that the foul spirits commonly call-"ed *incubi*, were termed by the Gauls *dusii*, be-"cause they daily and continually practise their "uncleannesses. Now, that which is continual "and daily the Britains do still express by the "word *dyth*."

Annotator.—"It is *dydh*; but the relation be-"tween that and *dusii* seems to be too much "forced."

In the Gaelic language, *du*, pronounced long, signifies *continual*; it also signifies *real, genuine,*

as shall be more particularly observed in another place. *Du*, pronounced short, signifies *black*, and *si* signifies *fairies* or *spirits*; *dusi* signifies literally *black fairies* or *spirits*. In the Highlands of Scotland, small round green hillocks are universally known by the appellation of *sian*, as supposed to be the residence of fairies or spirits. *Torsi* is the name of a beautiful hill in the valley of Urquhart, near the banks of Lochness, and literally means *the hill of fairies*. Had the learned Camden attended to the language of the Gael of Scotland and Ireland, his opinion with respect to the descent of the Britons would receive much illustration and support, in confirmation of the justice of his Welsh etymological observations.

CAMDEN, *Circius*.—" *Circius* is a wind very " well known by that name, to which Augustus " Cæsar not only vowed, but actually built a " temple in Gaul. Now Phavorinus, a Gaul by " birth, declares in Agellius, that it is a word of " Gallic original. " *Our Gauls*, saith he, *call by* " *the name of circius, that* wind *which blows* from " their own coast, and which is the fiercest *in all* " *those parts; so named, I suppose, from its blus-* " *tering and whirling*." It is certain, that this " particular wind is more raging and violent than " any other; and that *cyrck*, amongst our modern " Britons, signifies *force* and *violence*, plainly ap- " pears by the Welsh Litany."

Annotator.—" And so *cyrchi-wynt* would sig- " nify a *violent wind*; but why *circ*, alone, should

" signify that particular piece of *violence*, there is " no reason."

The learned author is not so fortunate in this observation as in his other remarks on his subject. The Gaelic language, however, explains the meaning of the word *circius*, pronounced as if written *kirkius*, satisfactorily; *cuairtghaoe* signifies literally *whirlwind*, and, in the mouth of a Roman, might naturally enough be expressed by *kirkius*.

CAMDEN, *Glastum*.—" There is, saith Pliny, " an herb like *plantain*, called by the Gauls *glas-* " *tum*, with which, writers tell us, the Britons " used to paint themselves. This is the herb " which we now call *woad*. It makes a blue or " sky colour; which colour is called *glas* by the " Welsh to this day." *Glas* is expressive of a sky colour among the Gael; it signifies properly *pale, wan*, or *gray; each glas, a gray horse*.

In the original of the poem of Temora, this word occurs in a simile applied to the moon:

" Mar *ghlas* sgia ro taoma na neoil
" Snamh seachad tha *gealach* na h oiche."

Translated thus by MR M'PHERSON:

" The moon, like a dim shield, is swimming " through its folds."

Literally thus:

" Like a gray shield before the pouring of the " clouds, swimming past, is the moon of night."

CAMDEN, *Penninus.*—" From Livy we learn, " that the Pennine Alps, by Cæsar called *Summæ* " *Alpes*, as overtopping the rest, took not that " name from Annibal Pœnus, (*i. e.* the Cartha- " ginian), but from the highest mountain there- " abouts, the top whereof was consecrated, and " had the name of *Penninus* given it by the " mountaineers of Gaul. Now, the tops of " mountains are so called by our Britains at this " day; for instance, *Penmon-maur*, *Pendle*, &c. " The highest mountains among us have all bor- " rowed their names from this word, and so hath " also the Appennine in Italy."

The word *benn* is by the Gael of Scotland and Ireland applied to the highest mountains, the most remarkable in point of elevation; the plural of *benn* is *bennin;* which word expresses the *Summæ Alpes*, and, according to Livy, were called *Penninus* by the mountaineers of Gaul.

It may be observed, that the *Penmon-maur* of the Welsh is a compound of three Gaelic words: *Penn, a mountain of the highest elevation; mon, mona,* the *mons* of the Latins, *an elevated extended heath* or *moor;* and *mor, big* or *great*: So that *Penmon-maur* signifies *a mountain overtopping an elevated extended heath* or *moor.*

CAMDEN, *Armorica.*—"The cities of Gaul "which border upon the sea, Cæsar tells us, were "called by the Gauls *Armorica*, with whom our "modern Britons agree, in applying the same "word exactly in the same way; for *armor* with "them signifies *by the sea*, or *upon the sea*. And "in the very same notion Strabo calls them "ἀρμορικιανδας." *Armorich*, in the Gaelic language, may be applied to maritime cities, but more properly denotes *maritime people*. *Muir* is most commonly used to denote *sea*: This word is a compound of *mu*, *about*, and *tir*, (*terra* of the Latins) *land*; *muthir* (*th* quiescent in the compound) is pronounced *muir*, in the genitive case *mar*; whence *marich*, *a maritime people*.

CAMDEN, *Bardus.*—"Festus Pompeius tells "us, that *bardus*, in the language of the Gauls, "signifies a *singer*; and that word is absolutely "British."

Bard, in the language of the Gael, denotes properly not *a singer* but *a poet*; *bardac*, *poetry*; which was no doubt rehearsed in metrical composition, expressed with vocal melody, and often accompanied with musical instruments; the most estimable of which among our Gaelic ancestors were the *cruit* and *clarsach*: the first was a sort of *fiddle*, which the Welsh call *crwth*; the Irish and Scottish Gael call *a harp*, *clarsach*; the Welsh use the word *telyn* for *a harp*. That artists were encouraged by the possession of certain portions of

land, as well as public contributions, sufficient evidence remains in the names of *dail a chlarsair, the harper's field; raon a n fhuidhar, the founder's field. Raon* signifies a portion of *land clear of obstruction; creite a ghobha, the smith's field* or *croft; creite a mhuiller, the miller's croft*, &c. Harpers were of old held in such high esteem, as to be supported by the voluntary contributions of communities of different districts of country, and often were put in possession of certain portions of land, as a reward for their services, and for promoting the delightful art displayed in the skilful management of that charming musical instrument. Would it not be worthy the attention of the Highland Society of Scotland to use means for restoring the use of that darling instrument of our ancestors, which was so much calculated to afford delight to every musical ear, and was so conducive to humanize manners, by its harmonious concord with tender and sympathetic feelings. It tended to divest heroism of its barbarity, by softening the proud victor's heart; the capacity of feeling the influence of its melting strains disposed to the stretching forth the hand to afford merciful protection and administer generous relief to the vanquished foe. Such was the character of Fingal, and of the other renowned heroes of his kindred tribes. The poetry and song of their bards, and the harmonious tenderness of the music of strings which accompa-

nied the rehearsal of their verse, was highly conducive to that generosity of sentiment and susceptibility of the softer passions, so conspicuous in the poetical numbers of Ossian, that most illustrious and most highly admired poet* of the ancient Gael.

CAMDEN, *Bardocucullus*.—"We learn out of "Martial and others, that *bardocucullus* was a "sort of garment worn by the Gaulish bards. "Now as *bard*, so the other part of that word "remains entire among the modern Britons, who "call *a cloak*, *cucul*; (*Annotator*) *cochol*." The last of these is agreeable to the pronunciation of the word by the Irish and Scottish Gael; it imports the same meaning as the *involucrum* of the Latins, *a close cover round about*, also *a cloak*.

Here we may take notice of a passage in Cæsar's Gallic Wars, lib. i. which strongly proves the language of the Ædui to have been pure Gaelic, as it is completely descriptive of a magistrate acting in a judicative capacity. "*Liscus* "*qui summo magistratui præerat*, quem Vergobre-

* It was not the province of the bard to rehearse and sing his own poetical compositions; he was attended by a person endowed with a good musical voice, to whose memory they were committed. This companion and attendant of the bard was called *reachdaire guib*, which is literally *the regulator of the mouth*. *Reachd* signifies *a law* or *statute*, also *right*; hence the *rectum* of the Latins; *direach* is *straight*, the *directus* of the Latins.

" tum *appellant Ædui, qui creatur annuus, et vitæ* " *necisque in suos habet potestatem.*" This magistrate was created annually, and had the power of life and death over the people: Cæsar says, that he was called by the Ædui, Vergobretus. This appellation consists of three Gaelic words, *fer gu breth*, that is, literally, *the man to judge.* The Ædui inhabited that province of France which is now called Burgundy.

CAMDEN, *Pempedula.*—" The herb which the " Greeks, from its five leaves, call *pentaphyllon*, " was by the Gauls called *pempedula*, as we find " in Apuleius; now *pymp*, in British, signifies *five*, " and *deilen*, *a leaf.*"

Annotator.—" *Pumpdail* in British is *quinque* " *folia.*" The Gaelic word for leaf is *duille*, preserving more nearly the ancient pronunciation of the word.

CAMDEN, *Petoritum.*—" As *pymp* for *five*, so " *petor* was the word among the Gauls for *four*, " as we learn from Festus, who will have *petori-* " *tum*, a Gaulish *chariot* or *waggon*, to be so " named from its *four* wheels. Now the word " *pedwar* signifies *four* among the Britons."

Annotator.—" And, which makes the relation " greater, *rhod* is *rota.*"

Roth is the Gaelic word for *wheel;* the Irish and Scottish Gael would call such a chariot *cetherroth.** As matter of curious observation, appli-

* *C* pronounced as *k.*

cable to the learned author's design, we deem it worth while, as it may prove not unsatisfactory to the studious of antiquity, to extend our remarks on this subject.

Were we not possessed of the works of ancient authors of incontestible credit, testifying the fact, that the ancient Britons made use of chariots moving on wheels as instruments of war, we should be apt to deny assent to any traditionary accounts of such warlike machines having existed among our British ancestors, who have been represented, even by Julius Cæsar, to have existed in his time in so rude and barbarous a state, and so completely ignorant of the arts of life of the first necessity, as to have no knowledge of any sort of tillage of the ground, or of any kind of artificial garment to defend them from the inclemencies of the weather.

The accounts which one of the most illustrious characters known in the history of mankind has handed down to us, relative to our remote ancestors, cannot but prove highly interesting to Britons. The truth of his relation regarding transactions in which he had a personal concern, and were the subjects of his ocular observation, cannot be called in question. As to those matters which are delivered upon the authority of hearsay or traditional report, implicit reliance may be withheld, without offence to the memory of a personage dignified by the most admirable talents, vigour of genius and energy of

mind, which, if directed towards the liberty of mankind and the good of his country, would have gained him greater glory, than the dominion of the earth, by warlike achievements the most brilliant, could bestow.

Cæsar gives a minute account of his first landing in Britain, and of his preparatory measures for the accomplishment of his designs in that memorable expedition. The people called *Marini*, which denotes their being maritime, possessing the Gallic coast opposite to Britain, were not sufficiently acquainted with the British coast, with the internal state and condition of its people, to be able to communicate to Cæsar that intelligence he wished to obtain, to render the issue of his expedition successful. His own words will best communicate the nature of the intercourse which had at that period subsisted between the Britons of the southern end of the island and the maritime inhabitants of the western coast of Gaul. During the small part of summer that remained, notwithstanding the winters in those parts are early, as all Gaul tends towards the north, yet Cæsar resolved to make an expedition into Britain, because almost in all the wars of Gaul he understood that assistance had been furnished to his enemies from thence; and although the time of the year should not fully serve the purpose of carrying on a war, yet he judged it would be of great advantage to him if he could but visit the island,

learn the nature of the people, and get acquainted with their situation, ports, and landing places, all which were in a great measure unknown to the Gauls; for rarely did any body, except merchants, go over thither: nor even to them was any thing known except the sea coast, and those tracts of the country which lie opposite to Gaul. Therefore, after having called together merchants from all quarters, he could neither learn what was the magnitude of the island, nor who, nor how many nations might inhabit it; nor what experience they had in war; nor what institutions they used; nor what were the proper harbours for a number of large ships. It appears that Cæsar could not procure satisfactory information from the Gallic traders with Britain respecting those objects, knowledge of which he thought necessary to possess, before he attempted to transport his army into a country which it was his purpose to subdue, and bring within the pale of Roman greatness, and add to the fame of his personal renown, by the conquest of an unexplored country and of a people *toto orbe divisi.* He therefore dispatched an able observer, Caius Volusenus, with a long galley, to bring him all the intelligence he could obtain, by exploring the coast, as he thought it not safe for him to penetrate into any part of the country.

The Britons, however, had very early received intelligence of Cæsar's designs from the Gallic

merchants. They sent deputies from several provinces, who expressed their desire of peace, and promised to deliver hostages, "*atque imperio* "*populi Romani obtemporare,*" and submit to the government of the Roman people.

It is evident that the Gallic traders were not disposed to extend the power of the Romans over the British people; and there is reason to infer, that they studiously concealed their knowledge of the country and people from the Roman general. The intercourse between Gaul and Britain must have been considerable before Cæsar's time, for he tells us that the Britons had afforded to the Gauls frequent aids in their wars against the Romans; a circumstance which proves a friendly intercourse and correspondence between the Gallic and British people.

It is remarkable, too, that when the British deputies returned, Cæsar had sent along with them one Comius, whom, after conquering the Atribates in Gaul, he had set over them as king. "Huic imperat, quas possit, adeat civitates; "horteturq. ut populi Romani fidem sequantur; "seque celeriter eo venturum nunciet." Cæsar had put great confidence in the courage and conduct of Comius: he considered him to be personally attached to himself, and, being a man of great authority, he ordered Comius to visit as many provinces and states as he could, and persuade them to come under the protection of the Roman people, and communicate to them his

intention of speedily arriving among them. The Britons, however, relished not the embassy; "*hunc "illi e navi egressum, quum ad eos imperatoris "mandata perferret, comprehenderant, atque in "vincula conjecerant.*"

The Britons seized Comius as he was going out of the vessel that carried him; and, though he was only conveying to them the commission of his general, they put him in chains.

It would appear, from the manner in which Comius was sent to the Britons, that Cæsar judged him to be a man of conduct and address in negociation, capable to gain the confidence of the Britons by friendly communication and social intercourse; by means of personal interview and conversation qualified to persuade them *ut populi Romani fidem sequantur*, to give no hostile opposition to the Romans, but to yield submission, and come under allegiance to the Roman government. Had he not been previously well acquainted with the character and manners of the Britons, he would not have readily undertaken an embassy, by which he was to penetrate into the heart of their country, visit several states and nations, and communicate to them the object of his mission. To attempt an enterprise of such a nature, among an unknown, savage, or barbarous people, roaming in natural freedom through their wilds and forests, living upon milk and flesh, and clothed in skins, would argue a degree of temerity inconsistent with the abilities and con-

duct ascribed by Cæsar to his confidential friend Comius.

The Britons had very early intelligence of Comius's commission, and although they felt that indignation which naturally arose in the breasts of a free and high spirited people, respecting propositions of unconditional submission to the will of a conqueror, they vented not the rage of savage cruelty upon him; his life they spared: but they treated him with that indignity which they thought his conduct merited, they seized his person; intimating to him the consequence of a servile submission to unlimited authority and arbitrary power, they deprived him of his liberty by putting him in chains. The confidence of Volusenus and that of Comius were very different; the one was a Gaul, the other a Roman. "Volusenus perspectis regionibus, quantum ei "facultatis dari potuit, qui navi egredi, ac se bar- "baris committere non auderet, quinto die ad "Cæsarem revertitur; quæque ibi perspexisset, "renuntiat." "Volusenus having viewed the "country as far as it was in the power of one "who durst not leave his ship and trust himself "to barbarians, returns on the fifth day to Cæsar, "and recounts to him what he had discovered."

Cæsar having exerted great activity in making the necessary preparations for the invasion of Britain, he set sail for the British shore, where he arrived the next day, after leaving the nearest coast of Gaul. Upon his arrival he observed

the enemy's forces in arms, displayed to view on all the hills. The situation of the place where he intended to make the first landing being found dangerous and inconvenient, he weighed anchor and sailed seven miles from his first landing place, and stationed his fleet upon an open and level shore. There, again, he met with opposition. "The barbarians, upon perceiving the design of the Romans, sending forward *their cavalry and chariots, which they had been accustomed to use for most part in fighting*, and following after with the rest of the army, endeavoured to hinder our landing. And, indeed, there was a great difficulty in the case, on the following accounts: viz. Because our ships, by reason of their large size, could not be stationed but in deep water, and our soldiers in places to which they were strangers; and whilst they could not have the free use of their hands, and were borne down with a bulky and heavy load of armour, had at the same instant to jump out of their ships, stand among the billows, and engage with the enemy; whereas they, either on dry land or wading but a very little into the water, having the free use of all their limbs, and on ground they were well acquainted with, could boldly cast their darts, and spur up their horses, that were inured to such management; by which difficulties our men were dismayed, and being entirely strangers to this way of fighting, they did not all show the same brisk-

ness and eagerness that they were wont to shew in conflicts on dry land."

Cæsar, after describing the issue of the conflict, which proved successful against the Britons, narrates, that the seventh legion, which was sent out to forage, was attacked by them, and surrounded by their horse and *chariots*, "simul equitatu atque essedis circumdederant." Cæsar then enters into a minute description of the British mode of fighting in chariots. It is curious, and merits particular notice. "Genus "hoc est ex essedis pugnæ: primo per omnes "partes perequitant, et tela conjiciunt, atque "ipso terrore equorum, et strepitu rotarum, or- "dines plerumque perturbant: et quum se inter "equitum turmas insinuavere, ex essedis desi- "liunt, et pedibus prœliantur. Aurigæ interim "paullum e prœlio excedunt, atque ita se collo- "cant, ut, si illi a multitudine hostium premun- "tur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. Ita "mobilitatem equitum stabilitatem peditum in "prœliis præstant; ac tantum usu quotidiano, "et exercitatione efficiunt, ut in declivi, ac præ- "cipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere, et brevi "moderari, ac flectere, et per temonem percurre- "re, et in jugo insistere, et inde se in currus ci- "tissime recipere consueverint." "Their manner of fighting in their chariots is this: First they ride up and down in all quarters and fling darts; and by the terror of their horses, and the noise of the wheels, they for the most part disorder

the ranks: And when they have wound themselves among the troops of horse, they alight from the chariots and fight on foot. The charioteers, in the mean time, retire a little from the battle, and place themselves in such a manner, that if their own people are pressed by the numbers of the enemy, they have a ready reception for them. Thus, in their battles, they answer the speed of horse and steadiness of foot, and effect so much by daily use and exercise, that in shelving and steep places they can check their horses at speed, guide and turn them short, run upon the beam, stand upon the yoke, and from thence quickly spring into their chariots."

Here, then, respecting the British manner of fighting in chariots, we have the testimony of the most illustrious general of his age, himself an eye-witness, and deeply interested in the issue of a contest, in which was displayed a mode of warfare, which he acknowledges struck at first his Roman soldiers with terror and dismay.

For one hundred years after Cæsar's landing in Britain (A. D. 43.), no attempts were made by the Romans to subjugate the Britons and add their country to the Roman empire. Britain was invaded by the Emperor Claudius, and in his reign was the famous Caractacus, a British king, defeated, and carried prisoner to Rome.

Prosutagus, king of the Iceni, was famous for his great treasures. In order to gain the favour of the Emperor Nero, and save his family and

the people from insults, he named the Emperor and his two daughters his heirs. But this measure was not attended with the effects he meant to ensure by it. His kingdom was made a prey to the captains, and his house pillaged by the soldiery. His wife, Boadicea, was whipped, and his daughters ravished. The chiefs of the Iceni were deprived of their estates, and persons of the first distinction were treated as the meanest slaves.

The Britons, feeling the disgrace of their situation, took arms under the conduct of Boadicea; (for, as Tacitus observes, the Britons made no distinction of sex in point of government, and that it was not unusual for them to go to war under the conduct of women); and having united a considerable force, vanquished the Romans who opposed them. Soon after, however, they experienced the superiority, not of Roman valour, but of military skill; for in their next battle against the Romans they were vanquished, with the loss of 8000 men. Such are the horrible effects attending the spirit of conquest, that ever to be lamented spirit, which still stimulates the minds of men, and deluges the earth with streams of human blood.

We find Boadicea, called by Dio, Bunduica, thus described by him: "ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεγίστη, καὶ "τὸ εἶδος βλοσυρωτάτη, τό, τε βλέμμα δεμνοτάτη· καὶ τὸ φθέγμα τραχὺ "εἶχε· τήν τε κόμην πλείστην τε καὶ ξανθοτάτην ἔνεων μέχρι τῶν γλουτῶν "καθῆτο, καὶ τορκίδιον μέγιστον χρυσοῦν ἐφόρει· χιτῶνά τε ποικιλόχιτον ἐνε-

"κεκόλπωτο, καὶ χλαμύδα ἐν αὐτῷ παχεῖαν ἐνεπεπόρπητο. οὕτω μὲν ἀεὶ
"ἐνεσκευάζετο· τότε δὲ καὶ λόγχην λαβοῦσα, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου πάντας
"ἐκπλήττειν." "Fœmina procerissimo corpore, specie
"maxime truci, vultu acerrimo, voce aspera, quæ
"capillum densissimum eundemque intense fla-
"vum ad nates usque promisisset. Gestabat et
"magnum torquem aureum, indutaque erat stola
"variis coloribus distincta et in sinum constricta,
"cui chlamydem crassam ope fibulæ connexam
"superinjecerat. Quo habitu cum et alias sem-
"per uteretur, tum hasta quoque in manus sumta,
"qua omnes perterrefaceret." "She was a wo-
"man of very great stature, of a very com-
"manding form, and of a stern countenance:
"She had a strong rough voice, and hair very
"fair, thick and long, which flowed down to her
"haunches. She wore a large golden chain, and
"was clothed with a jacket stained with various
"intricate colours, and above that a thick short
"cloak, tied with clasps; for in that manner she
"was always clothed; and she held a spear in her
"hand, that by it she might affect all with terror."

Boadicea, with her daughters along with her, in a *chariot*, went about encouraging the several nations to throw off the Roman yoke; declaring that it was not her object to fight for empire or riches, but, *as one of the people*, ambitious to restore lost liberty; to revenge the stripes they had inflicted on her, and the dishonour with which they had treated her daughters: That, if they considered both armies, and the cause of war on

both sides, they would resolve to conquer or die in battle. For her part, who was but a woman, this was her resolution: The men might, if they pleased, live and be slaves. The battle that ensued having proved disastrous to the Britons, this high-spirited female, worthy of a happier fate, fulfilled her determination; she spurned slavish subjection, and put an end to her life by poison.

In the progress of the Roman arms northward, the Romans found themselves opposed by men armed in the same manner, with darts, long swords, small bucklers, without helmets or coats of mail to defend them, inferior to the Romans in military skill, discovering less perfection in the form, structure and management of their warlike weapons. They were neither destitute of valour, nor, in a contemptible degree, of knowledge of the art of war: they were not found to be in the state of naked savages, nor so little removed from what may be called the primeval state of man as to be clothed in skins. Their knowledge of agriculture is clearly ascertained. Tacitus informs us, that after the great overthrow the Britons had experienced under Boadicea, they had been afflicted with famine, having been withdrawn from the culture of their fields by the preparations made for the prosecution of the war. Men who were acquainted with the forging of swords, and framing so complicated a machine as a war-chariot with wheels,

many of them armed with scythes, must have possessed in a considerable degree the art of working in metals, for the purposes of agricultural utility, as well as warlike contest. Pomponius Mela tells us, that the British nations made frequent war on one another; that they fought not only on horseback and on foot, but also in their cars or chariots, *armed after the manner of the Gauls* (they call them *covini*) with hooks and scythes at the axle-trees.

"They say that Britain is inhabited by an aboriginal race,* who, in their way of living, preserve ancient simplicity of manners. In their wars they use chariots, as it is handed down the ancient heroes of Greece had done in the Trojan war."

The accounts of Cæsar and of Tacitus are to be chiefly relied on respecting the state and condition of the British nations. Agricola had penetrated beyond the Friths of the Forth and Clyde into the country of the Caledonians; and having overcome these Britons under their leader Galgacus, and explored the extent of the island, and also discovered the islands of the Orkneys by means of his ships, he had communicated by letters to the emperor Domitian, a plain unexaggerated narrative of his victorious progress in the island of Britain; and his son-in-law, Tacitus, one of the most illustrious historians of ancient times, had

* Diod. Sic. Hist. lib. v. c. 21.

the very best means of authentic information relative to Agricola's transactions in Britain. "Hunc rerum cursum, quanquam nulla verbo-" rum jactantia epistolis Agricolæ auctum, ut Do-" mitiano moris erat, fronte lætus, pectore anxius " excepit."* Dio Cassius informs us, that the Germans who were in the Roman army in Britain, under their general Plautius, after passing a certain river, the name of which is not mentioned, came suddenly upon the Britons, and struck not at the men, but altogether at the horses in their chariots.

Had we not the authority of Tacitus to rely on, we should hardly give credit to traditionary report, informing us that the Caledonians, at the foot of the Grampian hills, beyond the estuary of Tay, had attacked the Romans, and in a great pitched battle had fought in chariots, in the same manner as the southern Britons had fought against Cæsar upon his invasion of Britain. Every circumstance of authentic intelligence respecting the inhabitants of Britain, during the existence of the Roman government in the island, with regard to manners, religious rites, use of warlike weapons, mode of warfare, and language, that which, above all other matters of evidence, affords conviction,—demonstrates the identity of race and lineage, and points out forcibly the parent stock whence the whole inha-

* TACIT. *Vita* Agric.

bitants of Britain derived their origin. Chariots in war, in a country, too, extremely ill adapted to the use of such warlike instruments, exhibits a singular phenomenon. Here let us apply the words of that deeply reflecting and profoundly philosophic historian, Tacitus, in his incomparable account of the manners of the Germans, as affording a solution of this wonderful mode of warfare practised among the mountains of Caledonia. "Proximi Cattis certum jam alveo Rhe-"num, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipii ac "Tencteri colunt. Tencteri super solitum bello-"rum decus equestris disciplinæ arte præcellunt. "Nec major apud Cattos peditum laus, quam "Tencteris equitum. *Sic instituere majores, pos-"teri imitantur. Hi lusus infantium, hæc juve-"num emulatio, perseverant senes. Inter familiam, "et penates, et jura successionum, equi traduntur: "excipit filius, non, ut cetera, maximus natu, sed "prout ferox bello et melior.*"*

Such is the force of ancient custom: Asiatic usages were conveyed by the migrant Gael westward into Europe; handed down by them to their progeny in Britain; preserved by the British in their warlike intentions against each other; and never abandoned until they had occasion to fight against an enemy that displayed a superior degree of perfection in the art of war, and proved, from fatal experience, the inefficacy

* TACIT. de Mor. German. c. 32.

of fighting in chariots, in opposition to the military skill and steadiness of the Roman foot and horse, unincumbered with machines of complicated construction, and liable to so much confusion, in situations where such must have been found impracticable and unmanageable. Accordingly we find, that the Caledonians, after this fatal battle against the Romans at the foot of the Grampian hills, where their force amounted to 30,000 men, of whom 10,000 were left dead on the field, had in their future conflicts laid aside this singular mode of fighting, and, by their persevering spirit of resistance, preserved their country from subjection to the Roman yoke.

Agricola spent three years in his expedition against the Caledonians: the determined obstinacy of the Caledonians in resisting the Roman arms, still preserved their country from conquest. The conquest of all the island of Britain was deemed of so much consequence, that it was undertaken by some of the greatest generals that appeared in the armies of Rome at the time. The famous Lollius made great impression upon the Caledonians, but extinguished not their spirit of resistance. The greatest vigour and conduct were displayed by the Roman generals; yet Caledonian bravery ultimately soared triumphant, and their enemies were driven beyond the Friths of Forth and Clyde.

The pride of Roman greatness was piqued at the hardiness of barbarian prowess. The Empe-

nor Severus resolved in person to reduce the Caledonians. The whole power of the army under his command was concentrated for the expedition, and, according to Dio and Herodian, although the Caledonians never ventured to engage the Romans in a pitched battle, they took all the advantages which the nature of their country afforded; by removing their sheep and cattle from the open country, they drew the enemy into ambuscades; bold and watchful, they harassed the Romans in their march, hung upon their rear, and reduced them to such distress, that their loss of men amounted to 50,000, in this unfortunate expedition. Emboldened by the loss of men the enemy had sustained, and the distress they had experienced, the Maiatæ, joined by the Caledonians,* revolted. Severus ordered Cara-

* *Maiatæ, Caledonii.*—These words literally signify *the inhabitants of the plains*, and those *of the woods*. The low, in contradistinction to the mountainous country, is at this day called *machthir, maoghthir* properly, though a little altered in common pronunciation. *Mao* and *maoi* is a frequently occurring name for places of residence in level ground, both in the low country where the English language is now spoken, as well as in the Highlands where the Gaelic language still prevails. A gentleman's seat in the beautiful plain between the town of Forres and the sea, is still called by the Gaelic name *Mai;* and the name is common in the Highlands, in high as well as low situations, where the land lies level.

There is a common adage in the mouths of the Highlanders, intimating the preference of their woody to the naked country

calla to invade their country with all his forces. To such a degree of exasperation was his resentment roused against this stubborn people, who had so long foiled Roman valour, and baffled the efforts of Roman power, under the conduct and direction of Severus himself in person, that he ordered their extermination and destruction, in these memorable words, conveyed too in metrical numbers:

" Nemo manus fugiat vestras, cædemque cruentam
" Non fœtus, gravida mater quem gestat in alvo,
" Horrendam effugiat cædem."*

We have observed above, that the Caledonians, in their battles against the Romans, posterior to the great defeat they had experienced in their engagement with the Roman forces under Agricola at the foot of the Grampians, had disused the war-chariot in battle. Fatal experience had taught them, that however they might make

---

of the plains, and is expressive of the Caledonii, Caoildaoin, *inhabitants of the woods*, and Maiatæ, Maiatich, *inhabitants of the plains*.

" Mol a mhaoghir 's na treo'
" Dimol a chaoill s na treig."

" Praise the level country, but cultivate it not:
" Dispraise the wood, but forsake it not."

* Dio, *Severus*.

use of such cumbersome instruments against one another, they were not to be relied on in opposition to the tactics of the Roman foot and cavalry. That, however, we may be satisfied of the truth of the fact, that the northern as well as the southern Britons retained the use of this Asiatic military machine, we shall quote the words of Tacitus, in his minute and accurate description of the famous battle fought by the Caledonians under Galgacus, and the Roman forces under Agricola at the foot of the Grampian hills.

" Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terro-
" rem editioribus locis constiterat; ita ut pri-
" mum agmen æquo, cæteri per acclive jugum
" connexi velut insurgerent: media campi *co-*
" *vinarius et eques* strepitu ac discursu comple-
" bat. Tum Agricola superante hostium multitu-
" dine veritus ne simul in frontem, simul et latera
" suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quam-
" quam porrectior acies futura erat, et arcessen-
" das plerique legiones admonebant, promptior
" in spem, et firmus adversis, dimisso equo, pedes
" ante vexilla constitit. Ac primo congressu
" eminus certabatur, simul constantia simul arte
" Britanni, ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris,
" missilia nostrorum vitare, vel excutere, atque
" ipsi magnam vim teloruin superfundere: donec
" Agricola tres Batavorum cohortes ac Tungro-
" rum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones
" ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate

" militiæ exercitatum, et hostibus inhabile parva
" scuta, et enormes gladios gerentibus. Nam
" Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum
" armorum et in aperto pugnam non tolerabant.
" Igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fœdare, et tractis qui in æquo obstiterant, erigere in colles aciem cœpere; ceteræ
" cohortes æmulatione et impetu commistæ proximos quosque cædere, ac plerique semineces
" aut integri festinatione victoriæ relinquebantur.
" Interim equitum turmæ fugere, covinarii peditum se prœlio miscuere, et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium
" agminibus et inæqualibus locis hærebant: minimeque equestris ea pugnæ facies erat, cum in
" gradu stantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur, ac sæpe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos, aut obvios incursabant. Et Britanni
" qui adhuc pugnæ expertes summa collium insederant, et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paullatim et circumire terga vincentium cœperant: ni id ipsum veritus Agricola
" quatuor equitum alas ad subita belli retentas,
" venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectæque præcepto ducis a fronte
" pugnantium alæ, aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis, grande et

"atrox spectaculum, sequi, vulnerare, capere,
"atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare."*

"The Caledonians kept possession of the rising
"grounds, extending their ranks as wide as pos-
"sible, to present a formidable show of battle.
"Their first line was ranged on the plain, the
"rest in a gradual ascent on the acclivity of
"the hill. The intermediate space between both
"armies was filled with the charioteers and
"cavalry of the Britons, rushing to and fro in
"wild career, and traversing the plain with noise
"and tumult. The enemy being greatly supe-
"rior in number, there was reason to apprehend
"that the Romans might be attacked both in
"front and flank at the same time. To prevent
"that mischief, Agricola ordered his ranks to
"form a wider range. Some of the officers saw
"that the lines were weakened into length, and
"therefore advised that the legions should be
"brought forward into the field of action. But
"the general was not of a temper to be easily
"dissuaded from his purpose. Flushed with
"hope, and firm in the hour of danger, he im-
"mediately dismounted, and, dismissing his horse,
"took his stand at the head of the colours.

"The battle began, and at first was maintain-
"ed at a distance. The Britons neither wanted
"skill nor resolution. With their long swords,
"and targets of small dimension, they had the

* TACIT. Vit. Agric. c. 35.

"address to elude the missive weapons of the "Romans, and at the same time to discharge "a thick volley of their own. To bring the con- "flict to a speedy decision, Agricola ordered "three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts to "charge the enemy sword in hand. To this "mode of attack those troops had been long ac- "customed, but to the Britons it was every way "disadvantageous. Their small targets afforded "no protection, and their unwieldy swords, not "sharpened to a point, could do but little exe- "cution in a close engagement. The Batavians "rushed to the attack with impetuous fury: "they redoubled their blows, and with the bos- "ses of their shields bruised the enemy in the "face; and, having overpowered all resistance "on the plain, began to force their way up the "ascent of the hill in regular order of battle. "Incited by their example, the other cohorts ad- "vanced with a spirit of emulation, and cut "their way with terrible slaughter. Eager in "pursuit of victory, they pressed forward with "determined fury, leaving behind them numbers "wounded, but not slain, and others not so much "as hurt.

"The Roman cavalry, in the mean time, was "forced to give ground. The Caledonians, in "their armed chariots, rushed at full speed into "the thick of the battle, where the infantry "were engaged. Their first impression struck "a general terror, but their career was soon

"checked by the inequalities of the ground,
"and the close embodied ranks of the Romans.
"Nothing could less resemble an engagement
"of the cavalry. Pent up in narrow places, the
"barbarians crowded upon each other, and were
"driven or dragged along by their own horses.
"A scene of confusion followed. Chariots with-
"out a guide, and horses without a rider, broke
"from the ranks in wild disorder, and flying
"every way, as fear and consternation urged,
"they overwhelmed their own files, and tram-
"pled down all who came in their way.

"Meanwhile the Britons, who had hitherto
"kept their post on the hills, looking down with
"contempt on the scanty numbers of the Roman
"army, began to quit their station. Descending
"slowly, they hoped, by wheeling round the field
"of battle, to attack the victors in the rear.
"To counteract their design, Agricola ordered
"four squadrons of horse, which he had kept
"as a body of reserve, to advance to the charge.
"The Britons poured down with impetuosity, and
"retired with equal precipitation. At the same
"time, the cavalry, by the directions of the ge-
"neral, wheeled round from the wings, and fell
"with great slaughter on the rear of the enemy,
"who now perceived that their own stratagem
"was turned against themselves.

"The field presented a dreadful spectacle of
"carnage and destruction. The Britons fled;
"the Romans pursued; they wounded, gashed,

" and mangled the runaways; they seized their " prisoners, and, to be ready for others, butcher- " ed them on the spot."*

It can admit of no doubt, that fighting in chariots was practised by all the British nations; a circumstance which powerfully indicates their Gallic extraction.

That the Gauls practised this mode of fighting in their battles against the Romans, in the earlier periods of their history, we have the authority of Propertius, in these lines:

" Claudius a Rheno trajectos arcuit hostes
" Belgica cum vasti parma relata ducis
" Virdomari;† genus hic Rheno jactabat ab ipso
" Nobilis erectis fundere gesa rotis.
" Illi virgatis jaculantis ab agmine bracchis
" Torquis ab incisa decidit unca gula."‡

Virdomarus is here represented as a general of huge stature, clothed in striped bracchæ, or garment of various colours, flinging his darts from a lofty chariot.

" Bis avertere Gallicum equitatum iterum lon- " gius evectos, et jam inter media equitum agmi-

* MURPHY'S *Tacitus*.

† *Virdomarus* is a compound of three Gaelic words, *fer, du, mor, man, black, large.*

‡ PROPERT. 4. 2. 39.

"na prœlium cientes novum pugnæ conterruit "genus: essedis carrisque superstans armatus "hostis ingenti sonitu equorum rotarumque ad- "venit, et insolitos ejus tumultus Romanorum "conterruit equos." *

"A number of the enemy, mounted with their "arms on chariots and cars, made towards them "with such a prodigious noise of horses and "wheels as affrighted the horses of the Romans, "unaccustomed to such tumultuous operations."

Lucan expresses himself respecting the Belgæ, "Docilis rector monstrati Belga covini." †

Strabo says of the Britons, "They have many "potentates among them. In battle they use "chariots in great numbers, as is practised by "some of the Gauls."

Diodorus Siculus says, "The Britons live after "the manner of the ancients. They fight in "chariots, as we are told the ancient heroes of "Greece had done in the Trojan wars. The "island is very populous."

Pomponius Mela, who lived in the time of Claudius, who invaded Britain, relates, "That "the Britons fight not only on horseback and on "foot, but also in wains and chariots, armed "after the manner of the Gauls, (they call them "*covini*), with hooks and scythes attached to the "axle-trees."

That the expert management of horses and

* Liv. lib. x. c. 28. † Lib. iii. Pharsal.

war-chariots was made an object of the highest attention among the Caledonians, and that they succeeded in a wonderful degree in training their horses to that mode of fighting, the authority of the respectable historians above quoted, it is presumed, will be sufficient to remove all manner of doubt upon the subject.

The fact, that such intricate machines as war-chariots, painted with various colours, and ornamented with precious stones, the horses richly caparisoned, dexterously managed by charioteers, with appropriate harness, and bridles set with glittering ornaments, were used and fabricated by the Gael, demonstrates a considerable degree of knowledge of arts of ingenious contrivance; and puts it beyond the possibility of doubt, that the Britons were universally, at the times of the Roman invasions of their country, far removed from the primeval state of man, or those ages when mankind first began to meliorate their condition, by increasing the fruits of the earth by means of productive labour.

When it is farther considered, that the various tools made use of by the artificers of modern times have each a distinct appropriate Gaelic name, not derived from any other known language, it is reasonable to infer, that such tools were the invention of the Gael themselves, at periods of time so remote as to be entirely beyond the reach of tracing the date of their fabrication as instruments of manual operation.

A *mall* is *faraichc*; a *hammer* is *ord*; it is a Gaelic word which signifies, *a regularly formed solid substance. Ordag, a thumb; ordlach, an inch: ordag, the thumb*, is the chief and strongest finger or branch of the hand, and seems to command the rest; hence *ordugh* signifies *order, degree*, also *rank*; and hence the Latin *ordo*, in Welsh *gordel*. A *saw* is *sath*; the Welsh word for a *saw* is *clif*; but the Welsh word for *a wright* is the same with the Gaelic, viz. *saor*, which is literally *a man that pierces or penetrates*. The Gael of Scotland and Ireland pronounce the word *saor*, (*ao* are sounded as a diphthong); but the Welsh have preserved more purely the original pronunciation of the two words forming the compound. So that it is evident the art of penetrating and dividing into separate parts, with an instrument called *sath*, was known to the progenitors of the Welsh before they adopted the word *clif* for a *saw*; and they have preserved in the name of *a wright* the most ancient pronunciation of the combined words *sath fher*; the *th* in the first of these is pronounced as an aspirate, the *f* is quiescent in compounds. *Sath* signifies *to pierce or penetrate* in the Gaelic language, and *fer* (*vir* of the Romans) signifies *a man*. The Welsh have preserved in their word *dyne* the Gaelic word for *a man*, which is *duine*; but the word *fer* they have lost, as signifying *a man*, though they have retained it in the compound expressing an artificer who

used the instrument called *sath:* and this serves to demonstrate, that there was a period when the language of their progenitors was such as is spoken by the Gael of Scotland and Ireland at this day, and that *duine* and *fer*, and not *gwr*, which they now use, were the words by which they expressed *man*, and corresponded to the *homo* and *vir* of the Latins.

If the name of a carpenter or artificer in wood was known among the progenitors of the Welsh, at a period when their language exhibited a stronger proof of identity of race with the Gael of Ireland and Scotland than appears at this day, we are necessarily carried back to remote antiquity, and we are entitled to conclude, that at a period prior to the formation of the Welsh language, as spoken at this day, or as it appears in the laws of Howel Dha, the trade of a carpenter was known and established among the common progenitors of the Welsh and the Gael of Scotland and Ireland.

The word for an *artificer in iron*, is also the same in the language of the Welsh and of the Gael. A *smith* is *gov*, and *gov diu, a blacksmith;* so *gobha* and *gobha du*, is *a smith* and *blacksmith* in Gaelic. This particular trade or vocation was also known among the common progenitors of the ancient Britons, before they were separated from each other by any foreign people. And as the Welsh and Gaelic names for these artificers bear no resemblance to those of the Greeks, Romans or

Saxons, it is evident the Britons derived not their knowledge of the arts of a smith and carpenter from any of those people: they were distinct occupations or trades, which arose among the Gael themselves, in the natural course of the progress of the human mind in the amelioration of the condition of beings, capable of inventing means of accommodation and convenience, which are not prepared by nature's productions without the aid of the combining powers of the human mind. The arts of working in wood and in metals were known to the Gaelic people before their communication even with the Romans, who, had they been the teachers of those arts to the British people, would have communicated to them the Roman names for the artificers, and the tools with which they carried on their employments.

The Welsh word for *knife* is *kylhelh, bidag; sgian* is the Gaelic word for *a knife*, but for *a dark*, which is a large knife, is *bidag; a chisel* is *gilb*, in Welsh *kylheleg*. An *axe* or *hatchet* in Gaelic, is *tuagh* or *lamhag;** in Welsh *bwyall*. *Ball*, in Gaelic, signifies *an instrument* in general; in the plural number the word is *buill*. The Welsh word for *a plane* is *bwyall saer*, which, in Gaelic, signifies literally *a carpenter's instruments*: The appropriate word with the Gael is *lachcair*.

* *Lamhag* is derived from the circumstance of an axe or hatchet being a most handy instrument. *Lamh* signifies *a hand*, in Gaelic; in Welsh it is *llan*. In Gaelic, *a fist* is *dornn*; in Welsh, *dwrn*. The genitive of *dornn*, in Gaelic, is *duirnn*.

An *auger* or *wimble* is *tora* in Gaelic; the Irish say *tarar*, the Welsh *taradar*. *To cut, to saw*, or *cut asunder*, in Welsh, is *torri* and *lhadh*.

As we have the most convincing evidence of the advancement of the Gael of Britain in the knowledge of arts of ingenious contrivance, particularly in the construction of wheels moving by means of axles, we are not authorised to doubt that the wheel was applied to other uses than those of facilitating the movement of war-chariots.

The accounts handed down by ancient authors respecting the population of Britain, when invaded by the Romans, and the abundance of corn produced by the cultivation of the ground, lead to the conclusion, that they were not ignorant of the use of the wheel in the operation of grinding corn, as an improved mode of preparing grain for their nourishment. We have Keating's authority for the fact, that the Gael of Albion were earlier acquainted with mill-machinery for grinding corn than their kindred Gael of Ireland. He says, "Do chuir Cormac mac Art, (Ri Herion circa "A. 220.) fios gu h Albinn a ccoinne saoir do "dheanamh muilionn;" *i. e.* "Cormac mac Art, "king of Ireland, sent notice to carpenters from "Albin to make a mill."

The construction of a wheel was known to the Gauls in the most ancient times; they fought in chariots against the Romans, when such machines were unknown to them. The Britons used wheels

before they were acquainted with the Romans; yet their *rota*, erroneously derived from the Greek τροχος, is the Gaelic *rotha*, which is the word for *wheel*. And the Roman *mola* and the Greek μυλη is the Gaelic *muiliann*, in English *mill*; the knowledge of which being communicated by their Asiatic ancestors to their European descendants, emigrating westward into Greece, Italy, Gaul and Britain. That the word is derived from rotatory motion, is evident from the first two letters, *mu*, which signify, *about*.

The more the languages of the ancient Britons of the southern and of the northern parts, and also of the ancient Irish, are examined and compared, the conviction of the identity of the original inhabitants of the whole island of Great Britain will be the more confirmed; and that the original inhabitants of all the British Islands were universally the descendants of the great Gallic nations, whose migrations tended westward from Asiatic regions, which gave birth to their language and their improvement in the arts of life; and that the varieties now observable in the language of the Welsh from that of the Gael of Scotland and Ireland, and also the discrepancies of the language of Ireland, among such of the inhabitants who are not of Saxon original, arose from migrations of continental races of men different from the ancient Gallic stock. To trace these emigrations, or to ascertain in any measure satisfactorily their dates, are events so

much involved in the obscurity of times of so remote antiquity, and so destitute of any written records, as must baffle the ingenuity of modern researches, and limit our conclusions to this proposition, that different races of men have, in the course of ages, immixed themselves with the original inhabitants; and that the original stock is only to be found in those parts of the British Islands, into which, from local obstructions of situation, and from the repulsive genius and spirit of the people, strangers found insurmountable difficulties to penetrate.

The Celts, however largely the Greeks extended the application of that appellation, formed unquestionably only a portion of the great Gallic nation. The general name of the people was, in their own tongue, a word which the Romans modified according to the genius of their own language and pronunciation, *Galli;* and their country in like manner they called *Gallia.* The term *Galli* the ancient inhabitants of Britain and Ireland have preserved in their denomination of their own parent stock, that of *Gael.* Although the Welsh people call themselves *Cymri,* that they, as well as the Celti, were only a branch of the great Gallic stock, is capable of no less complete demonstration, than that the English people are a branch of the great Teutonic stock, and form at this day in Britain a mixture of the Teutonic and Gallic races of men; the language of the first having

prevailed over the latter in all parts of the island of Great Britain and Ireland, except where the Welsh and Gaelic languages are spoken. But any person who wishes to bestow even a superficial glance on *The Comparative Vocabulary of the Original Languages of Britain and Ireland*, by Mr Edward Lluyd, the very learned antiquarian and scholar, will be satisfied, that the Welsh and Gael are by no means two radically distinct races, who speak the Erse and Welsh tongues. The denomination of *Cymri* affords no better proof of the Welsh people being a distinct race from the Gael of Scotland and Ireland, than the appellations of *Aberich* for the inhabitants of Lochaber, or *Catich* for the inhabitants of ancient Cathness, and such like, which are used as distinguishing appellations, having reference to different communities of men, or to local situations, in respect of the possession of particular portions of the soil or districts of country occupied by the same national stock of people. The word *Wael* is evidently *Gael*, the consonant *g* transformed into the double *u* in the Saxon pronunciation. The French have retained the ancient pronunciation *Gall*. Let it be observed, that the word *Erse* is a corruption of the word *Irish*. The authors of this corruption are the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of the low country of Scotland, who call the Gaelic language *Eirsh* or *Erse*, as the same language with that of the ancient Irish. The word is never applied to

the people of the Highlands of Scotland, but to their language, though, in the writings of some modern authors on Irish antiquities, it is applied improperly to the people as well as to the language of the people who inhabit the Highlands of Scotland.

ALBION.

THE most ancient author, so far as we have any remains of written record, who mentions the names by which the islands of Britain and Ireland were known in his time, is Aristotle.

This most illustrious writer, after describing, as we have already noticed, the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, and the seas in the interior parts of Europe to the Gallic Bay, which is beyond the Pillars of Hercules, points out the situation of the Britannic Islands, "ὧν ἔξω περιῤῥέει την γην ὦ "Ωκεανος εν τουτω γε μὴν, νῆσοι μέγισαί τε τοῦγχανουσιν οὖσαι δύο, βρετανι- "καί λεγόμεναι, Αλβιον και Ἰερνη." "Extra quas oceanus ter- "ram fluctibus suis oberrat. Quæ ipso in mari "insulæ duæ sitæ sunt quam maximæ, quas Bri- "tannicas appellant, Albion et Ierna." Here, then, we have the venerable authority of Aristotle recording the names of those two great islands situated in the great Atlantic Ocean, beyond the Pillars of Hercules and the Gallic Bay. They had in his time the general denomination of *The Britannic Islands*, the two largest of which were, according to the Greek pronunciation, called *Albion* and *Ierna*.

Pliny, after describing the continent of Europe opposite to the island of Britain, writes in these

terms: " Ex adverso hujus situs Britannia in-
" sula, clara Græcis nostrisque monumentis, inter
" septentrionem et occidentem jacet. Albion
" ipsi nomen fuit, cum Britanniæ vocarentur
" omnes." Here we learn that *Britannia* was in Pliny's time the known appellation of the island now called *Britain* by its present inhabitants; its old name was *Albion*. It is evident that the name of *Albion* was disused in Cæsar's time; the term *Britannia* is the only one he mentions as denoting the island Britain. *Britanni* is the general appellation of its inhabitants.

Does the most ancient name remain to this day? We answer in the affirmative. The Gael of Scotland and Ireland have in their native language preserved the ancient names of the largest of the Britannic Islands, as known in the days of Aristotle.

The Gael of Scotland have always denominated that portion of the island of Great Britain subject to their kings, *Albinn;* the precise name by which the whole island of Great Britain was known in the most ancient times. What is the natural inference to be drawn from this unquestionable fact? We submit it to be fairly this: that *Albinn* was the name which the continental Gauls applied to the island of Great Britain upon their first acquaintance with it. Emigrants from Gaul to Britain would thenceforward acquire distinguishing appellations, denoting the name of the country, of their residence, and of

the birth of their descendants. The generic name of the race would still remain, but the particular name of the country of their nativity and residence would be used to distinguish the inhabitants of Albinn from those of Gaul. Hence, the descendants of the continental Gauls, born and residing in Britain, would be called *Gael Albinn* or *Albinnich*, which are the distinctive appellations, denoting their country and race, used by the Gael of Scotland at this day. They know no other appellation for their race than *Gael*, and no other name for their ancient kingdom of Scotland than that applied by Aristotle to the whole island of Britain, that of *Albinn*.

Here, then, we have a faithful guide to direct us in marking the progress of the original population of the Britannic Islands.

It being ascertained that the ancient name of the island of Great Britain was *Albinn*, if Gaelic was the language of the first inhabitants, it is unquestionable that they would call themselves, in reference to their country, *Albinnich;* and this appellation they would carry along with them, as they directed their course, in all parts of the island of Great Britain.

There is reason to believe, that for a long succession of ages emigrations from Gaul into Britain were frequent. And it appears, that in Cæsar's days one of the Gallic princes bore sway in some of the southern parts of Britain; and, as we have observed in another place, Comius Atre-

bates was employed by Cæsar to reconcile the minds of the Britons, in that quarter of the island next to Gaul, to the Roman government.

In a country which favoured the multiplication of the human species, by furnishing, without the aid of much labour or industry, ample provision for those animals that supplied the means of human subsistence, population would experience a rapid increase. And whether the descendants of the first emigrants from Gaul extended their progress over the island, in consequence of an increased population, or were propelled northward by the warlike aggression of their more southern neighbours, still, while the country of their residence was the island of Albinn, they would continue to denominate themselves, *Albinnich;* a denomination which the unmixed descendants of the most ancient Gallic stock have ever retained, as marking their country; and they know no other name for Scotsmen than *Albinnich*, nor any other name for the kingdom of Scotland than *Albinn*, at this day.

Let it now be asked, Who were the most ancient inhabitants of Ireland? All historical testimony evince that they were Gael. This is the denomination by which they ever distinguished themselves; their language they called *Gaelic;* this is the appellation of the language of the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Erin, as well as of the language of the ancient inhabitants of Albinn, at this day. It is impossible to

call in question the identity of the original inhabitants of both islands, in race, manners, customs, and language. In point of fact, the ancient inhabitants of Ireland were called *Gael Erinnich;* those of Britain, *Gael Albinnich.* Irishmen are called by the Gael of both islands, *Erinnich,* and Scotsmen are denominated *Albinnich,* evidently derived from the ancient names of both islands. Greek and Roman pronunciations have made some variation from the Gaelic pronunciation of the words, but we meet with the precise Gaelic name of Ireland in Diodorus Siculus. This respectable author, describing the manners and customs of the Gauls: " Ferocitate excellunt ad " arctum remoti, et Scythiæ finitimi ut homines " etiam vorare dicuntur."—" Those Gauls who " are most removed to the north, exceed the rest " in fierceness, in so much that they are said to " devour men;"—" ὥσπερ και των Βρεττανῶν τους κατοικουντας, τον " ονομαζομενην Ιριν,"—" as do those Britons who inha- " bit what is called *Irin!*" Which proves that the ancient name has experienced no change from that by which it is distinguished by the Gael of both islands at this day.

With respect to ascertaining the just etymology of the names of both the great Britannic Islands, there is little difficulty. Let it be observed, that *i, innis,* and *inn,* denote *islands* in the Gaelic language. The first is applied to islands of diminutive extent, as *I-colmcilk* in the west of Scotland; that is, *the island of the cell* or

burial-place of Colom. Garbhi, rugged island, the name of the small rocky island in the Frith of Forth situated near Queensferry. Several islands in the Hebrides terminate in *i.* The name *Hebrides* is derived from the ancient name *I Bhrid, the islands of Brid,* from whom the Macdonalds are said to be descended. *Inniscolm* and *Innisceith* in the Frith of Forth are of larger extent. *Innisgaoll* denoted the *islands* on the *west of Scotland,* subject to the Danes, as shall be more particularly noticed in another place. *Inn* was an appellation which was applied to an island of great magnitude, as Bretinn, Albinn, Erinn.

" Albion insula sic dicta *ab albis rupibus,* quas " mare alluit, vel ob *rosas albas* quibus abundat."*

The derivation of the appellation of Albion, which applied to the largest of the Britannic Islands, rested upon the fanciful conjectures of ancient authors. It was said to have got its name from its white rocks washed by the sea; from the abundance of white roses it produced; from the Greek Ὄλβιος, as being highly happy and fertile; from the giant Albion, the son of Neptune, who was said to have reigned there. It cannot admit of doubt that the term *Albion* is a compound; for although it was written *Albion* by the Greeks and Latins, the just orthography, according to the pronunciation of the original Gaelic inhabitants, is *Albinn,* which signifies

* *Vide* PLIN. 4. 16.

white or *fair island.* This denomination is expressive of its appearance from the Gallic coast; and the quantity of soil impregnated with chalk, which it presented to the eye in many of the southern parts of the island nearest the continent of Gaul, rendered the term an appropriate one in the Gaelic language. And although the word *alb* is not now in use among the Gael, the Latin language has preserved the word in the term *albus;* which proves, that, deprived of the Latin termination *us, alb* was a radical word in the language of the most ancient inhabitants. If these were Gael, then the word *alb* may be fairly admitted as a Gaelic word of the same signification with the Latin *albus:* Hence the name *Albion* would literally signify *fair* or *white island.* In confirmation of this etymon we have the *Alpes Montes,* which are said to have been so denominated from their snowy tops. The *Appenines Montes,* so called from the same appearance. The *l* being dropped in the pronunciation is no good reason for rejecting this etymon of the appellation *Appenines,* (the labials *b* and *p* are commutable letters); and in pronunciation it is not uncommon, in other languages, to drop the letter *l* where it immediately precedes a consonant; many instances of which occur in the English language, as pronounced in different parts of the island of Great Britain. *Bennin* is the Gaelic word for mountains of the greatest magnitude and elevation.

PICTS, CALEDONIANS, SCOTS.

THESE appellations, which were applied to different portions of the ancient inhabitants of those northern parts of Britain which have for many ages back been distinguished by the name of Scotland, were at all times unknown to the original inhabitants as national appellations; and their descendants remain ignorant of them to this day. Their country they denominate *Albinn;* their national appellation is *Albinnach,* in the plural number *Albinnich;* and the generic appellation of their race of people is *Gael.* Whence then was derived those names which we find in ancient authors? We have no hesitation in affirming, that they were applied to the inhabitants of the unconquered portion of the island of Great Britain by the Roman writers, and by the provincial Britons.

It is an unquestionable fact, that the ancient Britons made use of the juice of an herb, which communicated to the skin a blue colour. Julius Cæsar was of opinion, that this mode of colouring was intended to render them more terrible to their enemies in battle.* Pliny informs us,

* CÆSAR,—killed 44 years before Christ.

that there was an herb like plantain, which in Gaul was called *glastum*, with which the Britons dyed themselves; and in the times of Solinus, the custom of staining and pricking the skin was practised by the Britons of the northern parts of the island.

It is a curious trait in human nature, that barbarous usages of the same kind please mankind in the rude stages of society, in all quarters of the world. Such strange practices are never relished by a civilized people; and accordingly we find, that those Britons who became subject to the Roman government soon imitated customs inconsistent with a taste for those colourings, punctures, and incisions, which could not but shock the feelings of every people, who could claim any pretension to even a small degree of civilization or refinement of manners. Hence a marked distinction necessarily took place between the provincial Britons, who, remaining unconquered, continued to practise their own usages. The Romans called them *Picti*, and the provincial Britons, who had made considerable progress in the acquisition of the Roman language, adopted the appellation given by their masters to those barbarians who remained unsubdued, and still resisted Roman polity and arms. The writers of the latter ages of Roman greatness continued to use the same appellation, and apply it to all the Britons in the island, without the pale of Roman authority, until dis-

tinctive appellations of a local nature arose from circumstances and manners, which exhibited a characteristic and well marked difference in the modes of life observed to prevail between certain portions of the inhabitants of the northern unsubdued part of the island.

Agricola was the first Roman general who had penetrated into that part of the island of Britain, the inhabitants of which were called by the Romans, *Caledonii*. The people of that portion of the island lying on the south, in a line of direction running between the river Tyne and the Solway Frith, northward to the Friths of Clyde and Forth, were called by the Romans, *Mœati*, and began to feel the weight of Roman power about the year 82 of the Christian era. The Caledonii, though defeated in a pitched battle at the foot of the Grampian hills, were not subdued: Agricola, however, had settled the limits of the empire to the north, by those two Friths.

The subjection of the Mæati lasted no longer than Agricola's continuance in the island. The Mæati recovered their liberty, which they enjoyed, according to their ancient usages, until Lollius Urbicus, under the emperor Antoninus, brought them again under a temporary subjection. In the time of the emperor Commodus, both the Mæati and Caledonii broke in upon the empire, harassed the Roman provinces, killed a

Roman general* who opposed them; and, although they met with a repulse in the expedition of the general Marcellus against them, they still continued in arms, annoying the Roman provinces till the time of Severus, (A. D. 208.) who overran both the countries of the Mæati and Caledonii. Yet even the former of these people preserved their independence till the time of the emperor Theodosius, (A. D. 370.) when ultimately their country was reduced into a Roman province, under the name of *Valentia*. The Caledonii still remained unsubdued after Agricola's time:† they continued to be such formidable enemies to the Romans, that, instead of attacking them in their own country, they found it advisable to defend the subdued provinces by fortified walls and trenches, in order to repel, not to vanquish, those barbarous enemies of the Roman empire in Britain. The Caledonii, not daunted by the terror of Roman power, still continued to harass the Roman provinces with such bold and restless ardour, as to have raised the wrathful indignation of Severus to so high a pitch of outrageous resentment, that he ordered his whole force to be collected, in order to penetrate to the utmost limits of the enemy's country, and spare neither man, woman, nor child. In this famous expedition he lost 50,000 men: his object was

* Dio, lib. lxxii. p. 182.

† See INNES's Critical Essay on the inhabitants of Scotland, vol. i. p. 39.

defeated; and twenty years thereafter the Caledonii were looked upon as such formidable enemies,* that the Romans kept two legions on the northern borders of the Roman province of Valentia, to repress the incursions of the unconquered Britons, while one legion was sufficient to keep all the rest of the Britons in subjection.

These being well authenticated facts, we must hold them as entitled to the credit due to matters of historical truth. Who were those enemies who appeared to be so numerous, bold, and enterprising? Were they native inhabitants of the country, or were they strangers? Considering the state and condition of the Caledonian country, and the habits of a barbarous people, consisting chiefly of herdsmen and hunters, the population of Caledonia, in Agricola's time, was as great as the means of subsistence procured from the soil could reasonably be supposed to maintain. Galgacus fought at the head of 30,000 men against the Romans, at the foot of the Grampians. At that period the general name applied to the inhabitants of all the country to the northward of the Friths of Clyde and Forth, was that of *Caledonii*. Tacitus distinguishes them by no other appellation, though, no doubt, the more general name of *Britons* was also applied to them.

The term *Caledonii* was certainly not invented by Agricola; it was an appellation which he re-

* Dio, lib. v. p. 465.

ceived from the inhabitants of the country upon the southern sides of the Glotta and Bodotria, as an appropriate name applicable to the whole people inhabiting the country beyond these arms of the sea. It was a most natural appellation, as distinguishing the inhabitants of a country covered with wood from those of the Roman provinces, which exhibited a different aspect from the woody wilds and towering mountains of the countries situated to the northward of the Friths of Glotta and Bodotria, or, according to the Anglo-Saxon modification of these names, the Clyde and Forth. The people inhabiting those northern wilds were, with just propriety, called *Na Caoilldaoin*, that is, literally, *the men of the woods;* latinized by the Romans *Caledonii*. That the woody country of the Caoilldaoin or Caledonii, contained a variety of districts and tracts of territory, whose inhabitants were distinguished by various appellations known to themselves, can admit of no doubt; but the general appellation of *Caoilldaoin*, as applied comprehensively to the whole inhabitants, was an appropriate term, and appears obviously to account for the name given to them by the Romans.

It is worthy of remark, that from the time of Julius Agricola, in the reign of Domitian, till the age of Severus, the Romans had never entered the country of the Caledonii. These were often attacked by the Romans in the Roman provinces; their incursions were repelled; the assailants were

constantly driven back beyond the walls into their own country, to the north of the Friths of Clyde and Forth.

Severus, as we have observed, having determined to bring the whole inhabitants of the island under the dominion of Rome,* entered Caledonia, and marched his army northward to the extreme limits of the island. The Romans had then an opportunity of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the manners and customs of those northern Britons, and to remark the features of distinction then subsisting between them and the provincial Britons. Herodian wrote an account of this famous expedition of the army of Severus.†

It will be observed, that Herodian, though he describes the people as painted or coloured, does not mention the appellation *Caledonii*, but calls them *Britons*. Dio, a cotemporary writer, gives them the name by which they were distinguished in Agricola's expedition against them: "Cæterum Britannorum duæ sunt nationes amplissimæ, "Caledonii et Mæatæ nam cæterorum nomina ad "hos fere referuntur. Incolunt Mæatæ juxta "ipsum murum, qui insulam in duas partes divi-"dit Caledonii post illas sunt." The Mæatæ occupied the country to the south of the Wall, which divided the island into two parts; the whole country beyond the Wall was possessed

* Dio, Wechel, p. 867. † Herod. lib. ii.

by the Caledonii, which was the name applied to them by the Roman writers, from Agricola's time down to that of the orator Eumenius, who applies to them also an appropriate name, that of *Picti*.

Ausonius, a Latin poet of the fourth century, was preceptor to Gratian, who was killed A. D. 383, mentions the Caledonians in these words:

——— "Viridem distinguit glarea muscum
"Tota Caledoniis talis pictura Britannis."

The term *Picti* was therefore properly applied to the Caledonians, who are here called *Caledonian Britons*.

Eumenius, in an oration delivered in the presence of the emperor Constantius, (A. D. 297), calls the Caledonii, or the whole inhabitants to the northward of the Friths of Clyde and Forth, by a denomination unauthorized by the language of the native inhabitants on either side of those arms of the sea, or of the valley called by Gildas the *Scythic Vale*, in the intermediate space of country lying between the limits of those arms of the sea; but which appellation was perfectly proper in the mouth of a Roman, who had observed among the northern unsubdued inhabitants of the island, the prevalence of the custom of painting and tinging their skins with colours, which must have appeared to the Romans as remarkable as it was strange and unnatural.

From another oration of the same orator, pronounced in the presence of Constantius, (A. D. 308), eleven years afterwards, it appears that the appellation *Picti* was considered as an appropriate name for the whole northern people unsubdued by the Romans, and that the term *Caledonii* was in a strict acceptation applicable only to a part or certain portion of the painted Britons.

Claudian, who lived in the end of the fourth century, mentions the Picts in these terms:

——— "Nec falso nomine Pictos
"Edomuit."

Again,

——————— "Ferroque notatis
"Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras."

Camden writes: "Isidorus is no less clear in "this matter. *The name of the Picts answers* "*their body; because they squeeze out the juice of* "*herbs, and imprint it on their bodies by pricking* "*their skins with a needle; so that the spotted no-* "*bility bear these scars in their painted limbs as* "*a badge of honour.* But how can we imagine "that these Picts were Germans, who never had "any such way of painting among them? or that "they were the Agathyrsi of Thrace, a people so "very far off? and not rather the very Britons, "seeing they were in the same island, and had

"the very same custom of painting." Isidorus lived in the fourth century.

Although Eumenius calls the whole extraprovincial Britons by the name of *Picti*, yet he was not ignorant of the name of *Caledonii*, for he mentions "Caledones aliique Picti." It is evident, that they were not at that time considered as different races of people. They were all Picti, and all enemies of the Romans; they united in the defence of their country; and no diversity of manners and customs was observable to take place among them.

It is indisputable, that the appellation *Caledonii*, which was applied to all the inhabitants to the northward of the Friths of Clyde and Forth in the time of Agricola, was afterwards lost sight of, and the name of *Picti* came to be used, as denoting an appropriate appellation for the whole of the people beyond the Friths at enmity with the Romans.

We learn from Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote about the latter end of the fourth century, that in his time the Picti were divided into *Deucaledones* and *Vecturiones:* so that the whole inhabitants of the northern part of the island of Britain, who, in Agricola's time, down to the time of Eumenius, were called *Caledonii*, were comprehended under the general name of *Picti*; and that the people so called were distinguished by two names, *Deucaledones* and *Vecturiones*.

The etymon of these two appellations has been attempted by different learned men, but we think unsuccessfully.

We have observed, that the term *Caledonii* is evidently *Caoilldaoin, men of the woods*, modified by Roman pronunciation. The term *Deucaledones* is attended with no difficulty. *Duchaoilldaoin* signifies, in the Gaelic language, *the real* or *genuine inhabitants of the woods*. *Du*, pronounced short, signifies *black;* but pronounced long, signifies *real, genuine;* and in this acceptation the word is in common use: *Du Erinnach, a genuine Irishman; Du Albinnach, a genuine Scotsman*. The appellation of *Deucaledones* served to distinguish the inhabitants of the woody vallies of Albinn, or Scotland, from those of the cleared country on the east coast of Albinn, along its whole extent, to certain distances westward towards the mountains in the interior parts of the country. These last were denominated, according to Latin pronunciation, *Vecturiones;* but in the mouths of the Gael, or native inhabitants, the appellation was pronounced *Uachtarich*. It may be observed, that the western division of Albinn, from the Friths northward along the range of mountains, which was anciently called *Drumalbinn*, consists of deep narrow vallies, which were in former times completely covered with closely growing woods, and which exhibited a different aspect of country from a great portion of that which falls from Drumalbinn, in all directions,

towards the east coast of the country, which spreads out in larger tracts of level surface, and is generally of higher elevation than the bottoms of the deep vallies, which chiefly form what is called the Highlands of Scotland at this day. The Vecturiones appeared to possess the more level surface of the country, while the Deucaledones inhabited the narrow deep vallies which were universally completely covered with thickly growing woods. That a portion of the country was known in ancient times by *Uachtar*, is evinced by the name of the well known range of hills called *Druim-Uachtar*, from which the country descends in every direction towards the inhabited regions on all sides of that mountainous range.

One of the earliest Roman writers who mentions the Scots is Ammianus Marcellinus: "*Scoti per diversa vagantes.*" That the Scoti were a new people, and a different race from the Gael of Albinn, denominated by Agricola *Caledonii*, seems to have been the received opinion of all the writers who have given us an account of the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland, in the barbarous ages which followed the overthrow of the Roman Empire, and almost down to our own times. The accounts which have been given of the Scots and Piets are entirely fabulous: they are destitute of any authority which can in any just sense be relied on, and must be ascribed to that sort of vanity prevalent among barbarous

and warlike nations, who fondly pride themselves upon an ancient and illustrious descent. They seem to seize with avidity upon the bare resemblance of names to found this extravagant and empty title of merit. So the Scots must have been descended of *Scota* the daughter of Pharaoh; and Gadelus or Gaethelus, the son of Neolus, an Athenian king, must have been the progenitor of the Gadhel or Gael.* But such extravagant fancies and unauthorized conjectures will meet with no credit from men of enlightened understandings, who seek after truth from sources of information founded on facts, and who will yield assent to inferences naturally flowing from circumstances of historical truth, where there was no room for fictitious conjecture, or no bias would lead to the vain glory of descent. That the Scots were a foreign people, who had come to Ireland long before the Christian era, and had migrated from Ireland into Scotland, are historical relations which derive no authority from any sources of information upon which a lover of truth can rest with any degree of satisfaction.

* "Filius autem Alpini Kennethus successit in regno patris "anno Domini octingentesimo tricesimo quarto, et in regno Pic- "torum, ipsis superatis anno Domini octingentesimo tricesimo "nono imperatoris Ludovici XXV. regnationis Scotorum in "Albion insula millesimo centesimo sexagesimo nono, sed et exi- "tus eorum de Ægypto sub primo rege Gaythelos filio regis "Neoli Atheniensium, et uxore ejus Scota, bis millesimo tri- "centesimo quadragesimo nono." FORDUN, *Scotichron.* lib. iv. c. 3.

Ptolemy enumerates a great variety of names ascribed to the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland in his time, but the name of *Scots* is not to be found in the catalogue. No mention is made of them till towards the end of the fourth century.

We have observed that the Picti, the whole inhabitants of Albinn to the northward of the Friths of Clyde and Forth, were known to the Romans as divided into the Deucaledones and Vecturiones. These names were derived to them from the nature of the country which they inhabited, the natural diversity of which led the people, in process of time, to follow different courses of life. The great body of the people to the eastward of Drumalbinn naturally turned their attention to the cultivation of the soil, the surface of the country being adapted to recompense those, who devoted their time to the pursuits of agricultural industry, with the means of subsistence, in greater abundance than could be procured by the mere herdsman or hunter: hence a distinction necessarily took place between the inhabitants of that portion of the country which lay at a distance from the range of mountains called Drumalbinn, and those who on either side of that range lived in their vicinity.

Those who practised the arts of agriculture were universally, among the Gael, known by the name of *Dramaich*, and this was the name which the Gael of the mountains and deep vallies of Albinn, or Scotland, always applied to those who

employed themselves in the labours of the field. Indeed, it comprehended men of every description, who practised those laborious arts of life which rendered their residence stationary. *Draoneach* signifies *any person that practises an art; drao, art; neach, any person.* But although the inhabitants who devoted themselves to the cultivation of the soil, and who composed the whole body of the people who resided upon the more level portions of the country, consisting of those tracts lying at some distance from Drumalbinn, and extending to the German Ocean along the whole eastern coast, to the northern extremity of the island, were called *Draonaich;* yet a certain portion of the people residing among the Gael of the mountains, were also known by the same denomination of *Draonaich;* of which important fact the most complete evidence remains to this day. The word *Draoneach* is applied to an industrious labourer; and the foundations of the houses of those who employed themselves in the cultivation of the soil, are distinguished by the appellation of *Larach tai Draonaich.* These are very numerous in many parts of the country, and are, without exception, of a circular form, with the entrance to the house regularly fronting due east. In the neighbourhood of the place of residence of the writer of these sheets, within the bounds of the ancient Caledonian Forest, there are cultivated fields; which further proves the fact, that the term *Draonaich* was not

exclusively appropriated to the people inhabiting the more level country of Scotland, but was applied also to the cultivators of the soil in the mountainous parts of the country. *Druim a Dhraonaich*, and *ach a Dhraonaich*, are fields well known in the western part of the valley of Urquhart, lying to the westward of Lochness; and still further to the westward, in the adjacent valley of Strathglass, there is a cultivated field called *an Draonachc*. And even at this day the people who possess the arable lands in the bottom of the valley, in the vicinity of *Draonachc*, and who have been for a long period of time remarked to be more industrious than their neighbours, are called *Draonaich Bhail na h amhn*, which is a village situated by the side of the river Glass, running through the valley, as the name itself denotes. When a man is observed employing himself in laborious exertion upon the soil, it is a common expression among the Highlanders, *be 'n Draoneach e*, that is, *he is truly a Draoneach*.

The Gael of the mountains were divided into two classes, *Arich* and *Draonaich*. The first were the cattle breeders, and the other were the cultivators of the soil, and indeed comprehended all persons who practised an art. Accordingly, in Ireland, *Draoneach* signifies *an artist*, and *Draonachas, an artifice*.*

* *Vide* LHUID's Dict.

But it may be asked, How came the inhabitants of the more fertile parts of Scotland to be called *Picts*, and to be distinguished from the Scots as a different people, subject to kings of their own proper nation, in ancient times? We answer, that the name of *Picts* was not applied to any of the inhabitants of Albina by themselves. The cultivators of the soil were, in their own language, called *Draonaich*, and the herdsmen and breeders of cattle were called *Arich*. By the Romans, and after them by the provincial Britons, the whole inhabitants of Albion were called *Picti*, until a new distinction arose between the cultivators of the soil and the breeders of cattle. It was the universal custom among the mountaineers or highlanders of Scotland to move frequently with their families, herds and flocks, from their winter habitations in the vallies to their summer grazings among the higher mountains. This mode of life necessarily rendered them a wandering people. They were in use to move in small tribes and families between their vallies and their mountains, and, indeed, appeared to be in a great measure restless and in motion. This mode of life procured them from the cultivators of the ground, whose employment rendered them stationary, the appropriate appellation of *Scuit*, or *Scaoit*. *Scut* is at this day a well known word applicable to any small body of people in motion. Hence the appellation which the Romans termed *Scoti;*

and hence the provincial writers, after them, used the same term to denote the mountaineers of Scotland, to whom the term was properly applied. This word, however, was unknown to the mountaineers themselves as a national appellation, and they are ignorant of any such appellation at this day. This new name of *Scoti* having been applied to the Highlanders of Scotland as an appropriate term arising from their mode of life, the appellation of *Picti*, having long been established as a generic term for the whole people, came to be limited to the cultivators of the soil, whose residence was fixed, and to whom the other appellation of *Scoti* was inapplicable.

That the term *Draoneich*, as applicable to a portion of the people, was known in the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, there can be no doubt. Those round houses, the foundations of which are now only visible, are called in the Island of Skye, *taod Draonaich*. *Taod* signifies *the rubbish of a house; tai fhod, fh* quiescent in the compound. Dr Smith of Campbelton, in his life of St Columba, expresses in a note, page 4. these words: "The Druids are said to have had "a college in I, before the time of St Columba; "and tradition still points out their burying "ground by the name of *claodh nan Druithnach*." The learned author was not aware of the proper application of the term *Draoneach*; it undoubtedly signifies *persons living by the practice of any art*, and was principally applied to those who

employed themselves in the labours of the field. Of people engaged in that occupation there was a considerable number residing on the west coast of Scotland, in the neighbourhood of Iona or I. The name of their burial place serves to afford convincing evidence of the fact.

The proper term for *Druid* was *Draothi*, (a compound of *drao* and *ti*, *Draothi*), that is, *the artist*, by way of eminence; plural, *Draoian*. *Draoiachc* signifies *magic* or *sorcery*, literally, *the art of a Druid*.

The foundations of the houses of the *Draonaich* are so numerous in some parts of the Highlands, as to afford the most decisive evidence, that the number of the cultivators of the soil must have been, in very ancient times, prior to the knowledge of the plough as an instrument used for turning up the ground by means of the strength of horses or cattle, very considerable. Wherever these houses are now seen, cairns of stones are commonly found, often at so small intervals of space as must have precluded the use of the plough as an instrument of tillage: the labour must have been performed by men with a kind of foot spade, or an instrument still very commonly used in the western islands and coast of Scotland, called *cas crom*, which is a species of foot spade crooked at the lower end, and formed in such a manner as to turn over the soil in furs, as is done by the improved plough, which, indeed, seems to have been derived originally from

the idea of this rude foot instrument. On the south side of the Grampians the foundations of those round houses are numerous, and are called by the common people *Pict's houses.* Vestiges of those houses are to be seen in many parts of Scotland, both in the high and the low country, but more particularly in those parts of the country which had been anciently in cultivation, but have been for many ages abandoned, from causes not altogether difficult to ascertain.

The vallies were universally covered with thick growing woods; the higher grounds beyond the vallies were more accessible, and tillage could be performed upon these with less labour than in the vallies. In process of time, however, the vallies would be chosen as more advantageous for agricultural purposes, for various reasons. The soil is generally found to be of a richer quality in the lower than in the more elevated grounds: the products of the soil most favourably situated would, of course, be more abundant, and being reaped at earlier periods of the season, the vallies would consequently become objects more worthy of the attention of the cultivators of the soil. In proportion as the vallies came in progress of time to be cleared of wood, the higher grounds would be abandoned, and all the manure which could be procured would be applied to the amelioration of the more productive soils: The surface soil of the earliest cultivated lands came to be considered to be of most value as a

subject of compost with animal dung, for manuring the lower grounds in the vallies. That this ruinous mode of management was universally practised, is visible to any superficial observer of the state and condition of the surface of the soil in the neighbourhood of all the villages or inhabited tracts of the Highlands of Scotland.

The Highlanders of Scotland, till a very late period, were universally in use to change their places of residence at various periods in the course of the year, frequently migrating between the vallies and the mountains with their herds and flocks. The inhabitants of the villages moved in small bodies together; and this mode of life procured them from the genuine cultivators of the soil, whose residence was fixed, the denomination of *Scuit* or *Scaoit*, which, as formerly observed, signifies *moving bodies of people*. This term, though well known to the Gael of the Highlands, was never applied by them to themselves, as a generic term embracing the whole body of the people, but among them is applicable only to small moving bodies, as emanations from larger bodies: any small moving bodies of people, or detachments from larger bodies, are expressed by this appellation at this day. Thus, then, an evident distinction arose between the inhabitants of the mountains, or the pastoral people, and those of the plains or tracts of country which were capable of cultivation, and in the management of which the residence of the peo-

ple became fixed and stationary. The name of *Scuit*, or *Scaoit*, was applied by the cultivators of the soil to the wandering pastoral people, which appellation was modified by Roman pronunciation into that of *Scoti*, and by the Anglo-Saxons into that of *Scots*. The Roman generic term for the whole body of the people, viz. *Picti*, remained to those who were not distinguished by the name of *Scoti* or *Scots*, and consequently embraced the whole people of Albinn, to whom the term *Scaoit* or *Scoti* was inapplicable.

In this sense are the words of Ammianus Marcellinus to be understood: "*Scoti per diversa vagantes.*" It is properly descriptive of the mode of life of the people inhabiting the mountainous tracts of the country, and corresponds with the meaning of the appellation by which the mountaineers were denominated by the northern provincial Britons, and also by those inhabitants of Albinn to whom remained to be applied the term *Picti*, which, for a considerable period of time, comprehended the whole inhabitants of the unsubdued part of the island, during the prevalence of the Roman government in Britain, and was used to distinguish the barbarous painted Britons from those who had become subject to the government, and adopted the manners of the Romans. The Gael who resided in the low country of Albinn, and practised the arts of husbandry, called the mountaineers by an appropriate term, significant of their wandering mode of life, *na*

Scaoit; the mountaineers at the same time denominating the cultivators of the soil by an appellation equally appropriate as applied to them, *na Draonaich.* The present distinctive appellations, which correspond with those more anciently used, are, *maghthirich* or *machtherich, the inhabitants of the plains,* and *muintir* or *Gael na garbhchriochan, the people* or *the Gael of the mountainous division of the country,* commonly expressed in English by *the rough bounds.*

"There is no part," says Innes, "of the ancient state of the north of Britain or Scotland, "that seems to have been more misrepresented, "or less understood by our modern writers, than "the extent of the Pictish and Scottish dominions "in old times. Boece reduces the Pictish dominions within very small bounds, since he "tells us, that from the beginning of the Scots "monarchy in Britain, the Scots, besides the western provinces and isles, were possessed of all "the northern countries beyond the Grampian "hills or *cairn of Mounth,* and sets down the distribution of those northern parts made by Fergus I. three centuries before the incarnation, "among his nobles; and in this he is generally "followed by the Scottish writers that came after "him."

"Camden, on the contrary, confines the Scottish dominions, even in St Columba's time, to "Argyle, Kintire, Knapdail, and some of the "Western Islands towards Ireland, and extends

" the Pictish territories to Lorn, Mull, and Iona " or Y-colmkill, grounded chiefly on Bede's hav- " ing made Iona the donation of the Picts to St " Columba."*

What portions of Albinn were subject to the government of Pictish or Scottish kings, prior to the time of Kenneth Mac Alpin, who united both Scots and Picts under one government, it is impossible, from any records remaining to us, to determine; but it may be depended upon as a fact, that all the inhabitants of Albinn, whose principal occupation was the cultivation of the soil, were called by the pastoral Gael, *Draonaich;* and that the pastoral people who led a wandering life were termed by the Draonaich, *Scuit* or *Scaoit.* To the one was applied the appellation *Scots,* to the other that of *Picts,* by the provincial Britons, who followed the Roman pronunciation of those names. It follows of course, that that portion of the people who appeared to have no fixed residence or permanent places of abode, could not be considered as belonging to the Pictish territory, and that the lines of demarcation between the Scots and Picts, must have been determined by their proximity to, or distance from, the mountainous tracts of Albinn, which were anciently known by the Gaelic comprehensive name of *Drumalbinn,* latinized *Dorsum-Albaniæ.* It is an undoubted fact, that all the inhabi-

* INNES's Critical Essays, vol. i. p. 78.

tants who possessed to a certain extent the vallies which seem to have been formed by the streams issuing from the *Dorsum-Albaniæ*, or *heights of Albinn*, on all sides, were, till a very late period, universally accustomed to remove with their herds and flocks from what was called the *bailte geamhre*, or winter towns, to different grazings among the mountains, in the summer and harvest seasons of the year: thus they appeared to possess no fixed or permanent places of residence; they were considered as a wandering people, following a mode of life which created an evident distinction between them and the cultivators of the soil, whose residence was necessarily rendered stationary, from the nature of their employment requiring the exertion of constant labour to be performed within the compass of a narrow circle of motion.

The people called *Scuit* or *Scots* inhabited the vallies situated among the mountains, and the *Draonaich* or *Picts* possessed the more level country, extending to a certain distance from the sea-coast towards the mountains, and were anciently divided into the northern and southern Picts.*

The southern Picts were, according to Bede's authority, converted to Christianity by St Ninian; and the northern Picts received the faith from St Columba.

* INNES, p. 83.

How far the Pictish territories extended from the eastern sea-coasts of Albinn, towards the range of mountains anciently called *Drumalbinn*, it is impossible to ascertain; but there can be no doubt entertained, that a certain portion of that range of mountains called the *Grampians*, divided the southern and northern Picts. "Those hills "are called by Tacitus, and others after him, "*Mons Grampius*; whence *Granzebin*; by Adam- "nan, *Dorsum Britanniæ*, commonly *Drumal-* "*bayn*; by Bede, *ardua et horrentia Montium* "*juga*; by an anonymous author of the descrip- "tion of *Albany*, or *Scotland*, cited by Camden "from a *MS.* in the *Burghleyan* library, at pre- "sent in the *Colbertin*, from whence it was copied, "and is here inserted in the Appendix, *numb.* 1. "*Mons, qui* MOUNTH *vocatur qui a mari occidentali* "*usque ad orientale extenditur.* And by another "short description of Scotland in the *Cotton* lib- "rary, of the thirteenth age, they are thus explain- "ed, *quoddam vastum quod vocatur le* MOUNTH, *ubi* "*est pessimum passagium sine cibo.* This last pas- "sage respects particularly that branch of these "hills, commonly called the *Cairn of Mounth.*"*

In Agricola's time, as has been already observed, the whole inhabitants of Albinn, to the northward of the Friths of Forth and Clyde, were denominated *Caledonii; Caoilldaoin, the men of the woods.* The appellation of *Scoti* was unknown at

* INNES.

that time. The term *Picti* was however applied to the whole inhabitants of Albinn, and indeed to all the inhabitants of North Britain who were not brought under subjection to the Romans. The Picti to the northward of the Friths, for the Caledonii were included in that appellative term, were divided into *Deucaledones* and *Vecturiones*, terms which served to distinguish the inhabitants of Albinn, until another distinctive appellation was introduced and became known.

The Picts of Albinn, as distinguished from the Scots, inhabited the whole range of low country from the Frith of Forth, northward to the utmost extremity of Caithness, and also the Orkney Islands. They were, down to the time of Kenneth Mac Alpin, subject to Pictish kings.

St Columba visited Brude, king of the Picts, at his royal palace, situated at the east end of Lochness. Our historians fix the ordinary abode of the Pictish kings at Abernethy, near the river Tay. It is evident, however, that king Brude had a royal seat at the east end of Lochness. The terms *domus regia* and *munitio regis Brudei*, show satisfactorily, that the dominion of the Picts extended from the sea, westward to the mountains at the north-east end of Lochness; for it cannot be supposed that Brude, or any Pictish king, should chuse for his residence any part of a country subject to the dominion of a sovereign at enmity with him, or possessed by a people not subject to his control.

St Columba's journey to Brude's royal seat was *trans Dorsum Britanniæ*, that is, over the range of mountains called *Drum-Albinn;** and that Drum-Albayn divided the Scots from the Picts, " *inter* " *quos* (PICTOS ET SCOTOS) *dorsi montis Britan-* " *nici distermini.*"

The learned antiquarian, Innes, writes, " How- " ever, from this account that Adamnan gives us " of the bounds of the Scottish and Pictish do- " minions in St Columba's time, it follows, that " since the island Iona was as it were in the heart " or centre of the kingdom of *Scots*, composed " of the islands and mainland as above, and " separated from the Pictish dominions by sea and " land, it could not have been the Picts, as Bede " relates, but must need have been the Scots, " that gave it to St Columba and his disciples. " We find the island of Iona always mentioned " by Adamnan, as being in the kingdom of the " Scots in Britain, and the inhabitants of it as " subjects of the king of the Scots. There it " was that St Columba inaugurated Aydan king " of the Scots; there St Columba with his monks " pray for victory to king Aydan as their sove- " reign; there king Aydan consults the saint " which of his sons were to live to be his suc- " cessor.

" As to Bede's ascribing to the Picts the do- " nation of Iona to St Columba, he being a

* ADAMNAN, lib. ii.

" stranger, and living at a distance from these " parts, and having his accounts of I-colmkill only " by hearsay, his authority on this subject ought " not to be put in the balance with that of Adam- " nan, who was himself Abbot of I-colmkill near " St Columba's time, and one of his successors; " and besides, had his information from those " who lived with the saint, and from the origi- " nals in the monastery itself."*

Had the learned author been aware of the fact, that that portion of the *Gadhel* of Albinn, who had in the fourth century got the appellation of *Scoti*, the term *Scuit* having been so latinized, consisted themselves of two classes of people, the herdsmen or breeders of cattle, who were called *Arich*, and the labourers of the ground and mechanics, who were called *Draonaich*, he would have easily got over the difficulty which Bede's authority put in his way, respecting the donation of Iona to have been made to St Columba by the Picts. It is well known, that the appellation of *Picts* was applied to all those who bore the name of *Draonaich*, corruptly, by the Irish historians, called *Craonich*. I-colmkill and the neighbouring country of Argyle were inhabited by a people who got the name of *Draonaich*, from their possessing a country fit for cultivation, and consequently employing themselves in the labours of agriculture. That they were subject to the

* INNES.—*Caledonians or Picts.*

dominion of the kings of Scots, can admit of no doubt; so were all the people denominated *Draonaich* resident in the Highlands of Scotland; and the burial place called *Cladh nan Draonaich*, as formerly observed, proves distinctly, that a portion of the people called by that name, inhabited Iona and the country in its neighbourhood.

It is certain, that as late as the twelfth century there were ancient historical records existing in Scotland, containing genealogical accounts of its kings, whether Pictish or Scottish, and narratives of remarkable events in the history of its inhabitants; but few of these are to be found in our times, and we are left to glean a few facts from those scanty sources of information which now remain. We shall take notice of some pieces of ancient writing, which are to be found as transcribed in the learned antiquary Mr Innes's Appendix to his Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland.

" *De situ Albaniæ quæ in se figuram hominis ha-*
" *bet: quomodo fuit primitus in septem regionibus*
" (sic) *divisa, quibusque nominibus antiquitus sit vo-*
" *cata, et a quibus inhabitata.*" Ex MS. Bibliothecæ Colbertinæ, Cod. 3120.

" 1. Operæ pretium puto mandare memoriæ
" qualiter Albania, et a quibus habitatoribus pri-
" mitus habitata, quibus nominibus nuncupata
" et in quot partibus partita.

" 2. Legimus in historiis et in chronicis anti-
" quorum Britonum, et in gestis et annalibus

"antiquis Scottorum et Pictorum, quod illa regio
"quæ nunc corrupte vocatur Scotia, antiquitus
"appellabatur Albania ab Albanacto juniore filio
"Bruti primi regis Britannorum majoris Britan-
"niæ. Et post multum intervallum temporis a
"Pictis Pictavia: qui regnaverunt in ea per cir-
"culum MLXX annorum: secundum quosdam
"MCCCLX. Nunc vero corrupte vocatur Sco-
"cia. Scotti vero regnaverunt per spacium
"CCCXV annorum; anno illo quo Willelmus
"rex Rufus, frater Malcolmi viri honestæ vitæ
"et virtutis, regnum suscepit."

We learn from this ancient piece of intelligence, that at the period when the writer of it lived, there existed written histories and chronicles of the ancient Britons, written records and ancient annals of the Scots and Picts; that the country then corruptly called *Scotia* or *Scotland*, was anciently called *Albania*, from Albanactus the first king of the Britons of Greater Britain. That after a long interval of time *Albania*, but now corruptly called *Scotia*, was called *Pictavia*, from the Picts, who had reigned in it for a period of one thousand and seventy years; according to some authors, one thousand three hundred and sixty years. That the Scots had reigned three hundred and fifteen years, in that year when king William Rufus, the brother of Malcolm, a man of integrity and virtue, undertook the government.

It may here be observed, that the Gael of Scotland and Ireland never knew any other name for Scotland than that of *Albinn;* it is the name used by them at this day: the appellation of *Scotia,* or any appellation similar to it in sound, is entirely unknown to them. The Gael have preserved, and apply at this day to the kingdom of Scotland, the most ancient name known to the Greeks and Romans, to denominate the whole island of Great Britain. The etymology of the name serves to shew, that it was denominated *Albinn* by the continental Gauls, and was naturally called by them, *The Fair* or *White Island,* from the chalky appearance of the British coast opposite to the nearest part of the coast of ancient Gaul. And this etymon of the name is confirmed by the appellation given to the island by the Welsh, viz. *Innis-wen;** according to the pronunciation of the Gael of Scotland, *Innis bhan, (bh* pronounced as *v), Fair* or *White Island.*

The period of three hundred and fifteen years applies to the era when Kenneth Mac Alpin, after having conquered the Picts, began to reign over all Albinn, down to the reign of William Rufus, the brother of Malcolm IV. The author of this little treatise was a cotemporary of Andrew, bishop of Caithness, who, according to the Chronicle of Maylross, and a Catalogue of

* CAMD. Britain.

the Bishops of Scotland, by R. K., died in the year 1185. It is to be presumed that the author wrote in the twelfth century, when as yet there existed ancient historical records from which he derived information.

" 3. Regio enim ista formam et figuram homi-
" nis in se habet. Pars namque principalis ejus,
" id est, caput est in *Arregathel* in occidentali
" parte Scociæ supra mare Hiberniæ: pedes vero
" ejus sunt supra mare Northwagiæ: montes
" vero et deserta de *Arregaithel* capiti et collo
" hominis assimilantur: corpus vero ipsius est
" mons qui *Mound* vocatur, qui a mari occiden-
" tali usque ad mare orientale extenditur: Brachia
" autem ejus sunt ipsi montes qui dividunt Sco-
" ciam ab *Arregaithel*. Latus dexteræ partis ex
" Murref, et Ros, et Mar, et Buchan: crura
" enim illius sunt illa duo principalia et præclara
" flumina (quæ descendunt de monte prædicto,
" *i. e. Mound*) quæ vocantur Tae et Spe: quorum
" unum fluit citra montem, alterum vero ultra
" in mare Norwegale. Inter crura hujus homi-
" nis sunt Enegus et Moerne citra montem, et
" ultra montem aliæ terræ inter Spe et montem."

This fanciful picture of Scotland represents correctly, so far as it goes, the relative situations of those parts of Albinn which were in the view of the writer to be described. It may be observed that the writer says, that the principal parts of this form and figure of a man, that is, the head, is in Arregathel, in the western part of

Scocia or Scotland, over against the sea of Ireland: That the mountains and deserts of Arregaithel are assimilated to the head and neck of a man; that the body of this man is the mountain which is called *Mound*, which stretches from the western to the eastern sea: The arms of this figure are those mountains which divide Scocia from Arregaithel.

From this description it appears, that that portion of Albinn to which the appellation of *Arregaithel* was anciently applied, extended greatly beyond the boundaries of that division of Scotland, now called in English, *Argyle;* in Gaelic by its ancient name, *Arregaithel*, (*th* quiescent); for it comprehended the great mountains and deserts of Albinn, particularly distinguished by the general denomination of *Mound.* This word is a corruption of the Gaelic word *monadh*, which is applied to any mountainous tract of land, in contradistinction to plains and vallies: every plain of considerable extent, bordered by a range of mountains or hills, is called *strath*, and where a river flows through the plain along its extent, which generally takes place, the plain is called *Strath na h'amhna*, or *the strath* or *plain of the river;* and accordingly that tract of country gets the name of the Strath of that river, as *Strath-Ta, Strath-Tay; Strath-Spe, Strath-Spey; Strath-De, Strath-Dee; Strath-Earn, Strath-Ern; Strath-Cluidh, Strath-Clyde*, &c.; *Strathmore* signifies *the great Strath*, there being no particular

river running through its whole extent, by which it could be denominated. This Strath was said to extend from near Stonehaven, along the level country, to the south of the Grampians, as far as the hills of Stirlingshire; it might well be denominated *Strath-More na h'Albinn, the great strath of Albinn.*

Many rivers retain the name of *Esk*, which, in the Gaelic language, signifies *water*. The rivers known by the names of *North Esk* and *South Esk*, in the county of Angus, rise in what is called the *Braes of Angus*, and fall into the British Ocean on each side of the town of Montrose. The *Plains* of Angus are called in Gaelic *maghthir Aonaghuis*, that is, *the plain* or *level country of Angus*. *Brai* signifies *the higher part of any country*. The Anglo-Saxon inhabitants retained the ancient appellation of *Brai Aonaghuis*, and added the letter *s* to the Gaelic word, which, in their acceptation, signified *the upper parts of Angus*. The name of the town of Montrose (more properly *Monros*, for so it is still pronounced), in the shire of Angus, bespeaks its Gaelic original: it is at high water nearly surrounded by the sea; and *ros* signifies any portion of land forming a peninsula, or watered by the sea or lake on both sides. Fife was anciently called *Ros;* the town of *Kinros, Ceannros*, signifying *the head of Ros*, was its boundary in the direction of that place; and *Culros*, signifying *the back of Ros*, or *Cuilros, the corner of Ros*, bounded it on another

quarter. The eastern parts of the county of Ross are washed on each side by the Friths of Dornoch and Cromarty; and the high ground interjacent between the Friths is called *Ardros*, or *the height of Ross*. *Ross Du*, on Loch-Lomond side, signifies *the black peninsula*: many instances might be given to confirm the meaning of the word.

"4. Hæc vero terra a septem fratribus divisa "fuit antiquitus in septem partes: quarum pars "principalis est *Enegus* cum *Moerne* ab Enegus "primogenito fratrum sic nominata: secunda au- "tem pars est *Adtheodle* et *Gouerin*:* pars etiam "tertia est *Stradeern* cum *Meneted*: quarta pars "partium est *Fife* cum *Fothreue*: quinta vero "pars est *Marr* cum *Buchen*: sexta autem est "*Murref* et *Ros*: septima enim pars est Catha- "nesia citra montem et ultra montem: quia "Mons *Mound* dividit *Cathanesiam* per medium."

This section informs us, that the country called *Albinn* was anciently divided by seven brothers into seven parts, of which the principal part was *Enegus* and *Moerne*, so called from Enegus, the eldest of the brothers. It has been already mentioned, that the Gael of Scotland called the country of Angus *maghthir* or *machthir Aonaghuis; Aonaghas* is a common name among the Highlanders at this day. That part of this di-

* *Goth* is an obsolete word signifying *straight*, and *feronn cultivated land*. The *th* of the one and *f* of the other word are quiescent in the compound, and pronounced *Go-eronn*.

vision here called *Moerne*, is called by the Gael or Highlanders, *Maorinn:* The second division is still known by the old names of *Atholl* and *Gowry;* the third was *Strathdearn* and *Monteith.* There are two considerable rivers in Scotland known by the names of Earn; one of which runs its course through the beautiful valley of *Strathearn*, in the shire of Perth; the other rises in the mountains which divide Badenoch from Strathnairn, in the shire of Inverness, and falls into the sea at Findhorn. At present the Gaelic language is spoken only in the Highlands, whence the first of those rivers issue; along the course of the other, Gaelic is the language of the people till within a few miles of its fall into the Bay of Findhorn, near which is a beautiful plain bordering upon the sea, still known by its ancient Gaelic name *Mai;* though in all the low country of Moray, with little exception, English is spoken, in all the high country of that shire the language of the people is Gaelic. The fourth division was *Fife* and *Fothreue.* Fothreue is still the name known among the Highlanders for the river Forth. The fifth division was *Mar* and *Buchan.* How far the country anciently called Mar extended, is at present difficult to be ascertained; but the appellation of *Brai-mhar*, or the upper part of Mar, is well known, and there the Gaelic language is spoken. This fifth division comprehended *Buchan*, which is evidently *bogha-chuain, the bow of the ocean*, descriptive of the appearance of the country as

washed by the sea. The sixth division was what is written *Murref* and *Ros:* the appellation of *Muref* is not authorized by the name as pronounced by the Highlanders. The name is descriptive of the situation of a level country, on the one side bordered by the sea, on the other by a continued range of mountainous ground; *Muir-strath*, pronounced *Muirra* (the *st* are rejected in the compound, and the letters *th* are pronounced as an aspiration), which signifies *the sea* or *maritime strath.* It may be observed, that there is no river running along the course of this strath by which it could be denominated: the rivers Findhorn, Lossie, and Spey, fall through it transversely into the sea. The name of *Fochaber*, near the mouth of the river Spey, is expressive of its situation; *foich* signifies *a level spot of ground*, and *aber, the mouth of the river. Findhorn* is evidently a corruption of *Fionnearnn; Fionn* signifies *white;* the sandy hills on both sides of the mouth of the river have a white appearance, which gave rise to the name. The seventh division was *Caithness*, on this and the other side of the mountain, "quia mons *Mound* "dividit Cathanesiam per medium;" "because the "mountain *Mound* divides Caithness in the mid-"dle." In ancient times all that division of Scotland, comprehending what is now called the counties of Sutherland and Caithness, was distinguished by the appellation *Catt.* The southern and northern parts of it were divided by a range

of mountainous ground, known in Gaelic by the common appellation of *monadh*. That arm of the sea now called the Frith of Dornoch, is called in Gaelic *an Caol Cattach, the narrow sea of Catt;* which proves its extent to the southward, and separated it from the division of the country called *Ross*. In the low country on the north side of the *mound* or *monadh*, the English language is spoken. That colonies of Anglo-Saxons had been sent by our kings to settle in the low country of Caithness, at least 600 years back, there can be entertained no doubt. And the name of Sutherland, which the other division of ancient Catt or Caithness now bears, must have been given to it by the Anglo-Saxon settlers, *i. e.* the Sutherland of Caithness. The noble title of Sutherland is as old as 1275; so that the division of Caithness, to the north of the range of high lands called *Mound*, received that English name as early as the 13th century, cannot be doubted. The words "*Septima*," &c. indicate, that when the author of that ancient treatise wrote, the name of Sutherland, for any portion of the ancient division of Albinn called Catt, and lying to the northward of *Caol Cattach*, was unknown. Although the noble family of Sutherland have for ages been styled earls of Sutherland, the Highlanders still call the earl of Sutherland *Morer Catt*. *Morer* is the Gaelic word corresponding to *lord*, literally *great man*. The division of ancient Caithness, on the south side of

the *Monadh* or *Mound*, retains in the Gaelic language still the old name of the whole; but in distinguishing the division inhabited by the ancient race of people, from that possessed by the descendants of the Anglo-Saxon colonies sent thither, the Gael call the southern division *Catthao'*, and the other division *Gaollthao'*; the first signifies *the side* or *quarter of Catt*, and the other *the side* or *quarter of strangers*. This last now consists of seven parishes where English is spoken; in other three parishes, or highlands of what is now called Caithness, Gaelic is the language of the people. The earl of Sutherland is called *Morer Catt*, the earl of Caithness *Morer Gaoll*, intimating that the one was lord of the country of *Catt*, the other of the country of *strangers*, or *a foreign lord*.

" 5. Quælibet ergo istarum partium regio tunc " vocabatur et erat: quia unaquæque earum sub " regionem in se habebat. Inde est ut hi septem " fratres prædicti pro septem regibus habebantur: " septem Regulos sub se habentes. Isti septem " fratres regnum Albaniæ in septem regna divi- " serunt, et unusquisque in tempore suo in suo " regno regnavit.

" 6. Primum regnum fuit (sicut mihi verus " relator retulit, Andreas, videlicet, vir venera- " bilis Katanensis episcopus nacione Scottus et " Dunfermlis monachus) ab illa aqua optima, " quæ Scottice vocata est *Froth*, Brittanice *Werid*, " Romane vero *Scotte-Wattre*, 1. Aqua Scotto-

" rum; quæ regna Scottorum et Anglorum divi-
" dit et currit juxta oppidum de *Strivelin*, usque
" ad flumen aliud nobile, quod vocatum est *Tae*."

The limits of those seven kingdoms were described to the writer of this Treatise by Andrew, bishop of Caithness, who died, as before observed, in 1185. In this description Caithness is not mentioned, and it is difficult to delineate the precise boundaries of the different divisions. In the first account of the divisions of Albinn, Caithness is mentioned as one of them; but Arregathel is not described as belonging to any of these divisions. The first part of this other account of the divisions of Albinn was given by the writer, as found in some ancient written Chronicles or Annals of Albinn; the other part was derived from the bishop of Caithness, as related by him to the writer.

A variety of etymological conjectures are offered to account for the appellation *Arregathel*. Arregathel is so called as the margin of the Scots or Hybernians, because all the Hybernians and Scots are generally styled *Gaithel*, from their first ancient leader called *Gaithelglas;* for there the Hybernians always used to apply themselves in harassing the Britons; or that the Scots (Picts) there first dwelt, after their return from Hybernia; or because the Hybernians occupied those parts beyond the Picts; or, what is more certain, that that part of the region of Scotia is nearest to the region of Hybernia.

Such conjectures as these have been often repeated. That the ancient inhabitants of Erinn and of Albinn were universally called Gael, written *Gathel* or *Gadhel*, is a fact which cannot admit of question; they were therefore originally the same race of people. That the Roman appellation of *Scoti* was first applied to the inhabitants of the mountainous tracts of Albinn, is equally certain. They were a people *per diversa vagantes*, having in appearance no fixed habitation. They were called *Hybernians* or *Irish*, as being of the same race or lineage, speaking the same language. The appellation of *Scoti* was applied to a certain portion of the inhabitants of Ireland, according to Orosius, who lived in the beginning of the fifth century; and such of the Irish Gael as led a life similar to the mountaineers of Scotland, got, with equal propriety, from the more industrious and stationary inhabitants of Ireland, the same appellation: but that the Scots of Ireland peopled the vallies and mountains of Scotland, or that they derived their origin from the Scots of Scotland, are equally destitute of any foundation in reason or truth. The Gadhel had peopled both Ireland and Scotland for ages unknown, before the name of Scots was heard of in either the one country or the other. The Welsh called the ancient inhabitants of Ireland *Gwithil*.* The descendants of these ancient in-

* CAMDEN.

habitants call themselves *Gadhel*, as do all the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Albinn call themselves by that generic appellation. The language of both is Gaelic, furnishing a proof incontrovertible of the identity of people. Whether the island of Albinn, or that of Erinn, was first in the order of population, is a question far beyond the power of man to determine. Vain tales, big with fabulous absurdity, have existed; but population has flowed from the first inhabited regions of the earth, in all directions, as mankind increased in numbers, according to the vicinity and ease of communication between different portions of the habitable globe. Powerful kingdoms and empires had subsisted in Asia many ages before the dawn of any degree of civilization was visible among the inhabitants of Europe, now the most enlightened quarter of the earth. Civilization and a knowledge of the arts of life follow population; but until the population of any portion of the earth becomes redundant, the ingenuities of which the human mind is capable, are not put in practice. It is easier for a pastoral people to remove to new settlements, than to render the native soil fruitful by means of laborious industry. Hence the origin of the emigrations of mankind: and as the island of Albion or Great Britain is visible from one part of the continent of Europe, it is agreeable to rational conviction, that the first movement of a redundant continental popula-

tion was directed to the nearest coast of that island, from the opposite shore of the great country anciently called by the Romans *Gallia*, whose inhabitants they called *Galli*. Were we to be regulated by probable conclusions with respect to our original descent, we should, with more reason, derive our origin, and the population of the Britannic Islands, from that country and that people, than from colonies from Egypt or Spain, under Simon Brek or Gaethelglas as their leaders, a few generations after the time of Japhet.

Scotland was called *Scotia* from *Scota* the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt: so we are told by both Irish and Scottish historians; the latter following the fabulous legendary tales of the former, both equally fond of marvellous accounts relative to antiquity and lustre of origin. Were we, however, disposed to combine sound and sense together, we might be satisfied to hold the vicinity of Britain to Gaul, and the similarity of the appellation of its inhabitants, *Galli*, as pronounced by the Romans, with that which the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Albinn and Erinn have retained as their generic appellation down to this day,—as a rational inference of the progress of population westward from Gaul to Great Britain, and thence to Ireland.

The name *Arigathel*, *Arigadhel*, pronounced *Ariga'el*, demonstrates its meaning. It signifies

the breeding ground of the Gael, and comprehended the whole mountainous region of Albinn. The inhabitants of the vallies moved thither with their herds and flocks at various times in the year, and that portion of their cattle called *seisgach*, or *dry cattle*, remained there during the whole year, unless when the owners were compelled, by the severity of the season, to furnish them with provender out of hand, which at times they carried to the grazings among the mountains, or brought their cattle to what was called their *winter towns* in the vallies, there to receive such provision as had been laid up for winter store, which was always scanty, and their herds, in severe seasons, often perished for want of sustenance. This mode of management was the only one known and practised in the Highlands of Scotland till a very late period, when sheep have been introduced to pasture the mountains in place of black-cattle; a change of system of management, which, at the same time that it has altered in some measure the ambulatory mode of life of the mountaineers, has prodigiously redounded to increase the value of the mountain pastures, and to meliorate the condition of the inhabitants.

Arighael is a compound of *Ari* and *Gael*. *Ari* signifies *a breeding place; arach, to breed;* and *areach, arich,* plural, *a cattle breeder. Bothan ari,* is *a small hut* or *booth* erected on some favourite spot of the breeding ground. Such spots

of ground are called, in the language of the low country Scots, *sheelings*. So that evidently *arighael* signifies *the breeding grounds of the Gael*, and therefore extended in ancient times over the whole mountainous tracts of Albinn.

The only remains we have of our ancient chronicles or annals, written originally in the Gaelic language, are Latin versions of those chronicles or annals, in which, as might be expected, occur many mutilations of the orthography of the original language.

We find that *Arigadhel* has been latinized *Ergadia* by some translators of our ancient manuscripts.

> " Hæc gens sub lege naturæ, sed sine rege,
> " Donec ad Ergadiam tulit audax nomine quidam
> " Fergusius lapidem, de quo sit mentio pridem."*

" Kinath Mac-Alpin 16 an. Super Scotos reg-
" navit, destructis Pictis; mortuus in Fortevioth;
" sepultus in Yona insula, ubi tres filii Erc, scili-
" cet Fergus, Loarn, et Enegus sepulti fuerant.
" Hic mira calliditate duxit Scotos de Argadia
" in terram Pictorum."†

And we are told, that this Fergus was the first who reigned over Albinn from the moun-

* *Vide* INNES's Appendix, c. v. No. 6.

† Appendix, No. 5.

tain, (*i. e.*) *monadh Drumalbinn*, to the Irish Sea and Inchegall.

" Fergus filius Eric fuit primus qui de semine " Chonare suscepit regnum Albaniæ, *i. e.* a monte " Drumalban usque ad mare Hiberniæ et ad " Inche-Gall. Iste regnavit iii annis."*

Eric is a name still well known in the Highlands.

" Fergus filius Erth primus in Scotia regnavit " tribus annis ultra Drumalban usque Sluagh " muner et usque ad Inche-Gall."†

So that Arigadhel was held anciently to be the country of the people whose name was latinized *Scoti*, and the name *Scotia* was so called from that by which the people came to be denominated. But we are not left to conjecture with respect to the extent of Ergadia. It comprehended not only the whole of the present county of Argyle and Bra'ad-Albinn, (*braghad* signifies *the higher part*,) but the whole highlands of the shires of Inverness and Ross, excepting the Hebridian Isles; these, as appears from our ancient chronicles, were not subject to the dominion of Fergus, the son of Eric, nor, for several ages after, to his successors the kings of Scotland; for their dominion was on the west bounded by *Inchegall*, more properly written *Innsegaoll*. It is well known that the *Hebrides* bore that name for many ages: they were so de-

* Appendix, No. 4. † Appendix, No. 5.

nominated by the Gadhel of the mainland of Scotland, as being in the possession of a foreign people or strangers. *Inn* signifies *an island of great magnitude*, such as *Breatinn*, *Albinn*, *Erinn*. *Innis* is a word more commonly applied to an island of more limited extent; as *Innis cheith*, *Innsekeith*; *Innis colum*, *Innsecolm*, in the Frith of Forth: *Innis cillin*, *Innsekilling*, &c. in Ireland; *Innsmarnoc*, near the isle of Bute. *I* is also applied to small islands; as *Garbhi*, *Garvi*, *rough* or *rocky island*, in the Frith of Forth; *I*, *Iona*, or *I Cholum cill*, *the island of St Columba's cell* or *burial place*.

The Lords of the Isles were held long to bear the chief sway over *Ceanntir a's Il a's Innsegaoll*, that is, *Ceantire*, *Ila*, *and the islands called the Hebrides*.

We do not find that any people under the denomination of *Scoti* were mentioned in the history of Roman affairs in this island, till about the middle or towards the end of the fourth century. At that time they were, according to the chronicle above mentioned, "*sub lege naturæ sed sine rege*," governed by the law of nature, without a king, until Fergus had brought to Ergadia the fatal stone, which, according to ancient prophetic story and popular belief, should give the Scots dominion and sway over whatever land in which it should be placed. That Arigadhel, or Ergadia, comprehended the whole mountainous tracts of Scotland, appears from various old char-

ters granted by the kings of Scotland to their subjects. In a charter granted by Robert II. to Ranulph, earl of Murray, Lochabre, Maymore, Locharketh, Glengarith, Glenelgis, and Ross, are described as lying within *Boreali Ergadia*, or *North Ergadia*. And the lands of Gearloch, lying in Wester Ross, opposite to the north end of the Isle of Skye, is described as situated within the bounds of Ergadia.*

It is evident that the term *Ros* was not in ancient times applied to that portion of the county of Ross now called Wester Ross. It extended no farther than the extremities of the two Friths by which it is washed on the southern and northern sides, which was an appropriate appellation for that portion of the country: the height or *dorsum* of this part of the country was *Ardros*, a name which still remains.

There can be no doubt that the term *Scuit* was, by the inhabitants of the low country of Albinn, applied to the mountaineers or Highlanders in very ancient times; but with this appellation the Romans, it would appear, were not acquainted till the fourth century.

Upon the invasion of the Roman empire by the northern barbarous nations of the continent of Europe, the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain for the defence of the capital and centre of the empire. The Roman government

* *See* Introductio ad Historiam Scotorum, prefixed to FORDUN.

acquainted the Britons, that they must no longer depend for protection upon the Roman arms, and, exhorting them to arm in their own defence against the Scots and Picts, left the island of Great Britain about the year 448, after having assisted the Britons in rebuilding the Roman wall between Newcastle and Carlisle, and placing at certain distances forts and watch-towers along its whole extent, from one extremity to the other, to defend them from their northern enemies. The Britons were left then to take measures for their own defence, unaided by the arms of Rome.

The unsubdued inhabitants of Albinn were ever the restless enemies of the Roman provincial Britons; and now they became more formidable and terrific to the provincial Britons than they were at any former period of their history.

These enemies were distinguished by the names of *Scots* and *Picts*. In whatever manner these people were governed at home, whatever were their jarrings, contests, and dissensions among themselves, they were at all times seen in conjunction when they attacked the Roman provinces. In their expeditions southward they combined their forces; they waged war, as if with one consent, upon their common enemies, those Britons who had been for ages reduced to bondage under a foreign yoke, but whom the northern Britons, under the appellation of *Caledonians*, also called *Picts*, or *painted Britons*, had

successfully resisted, preferring a proud though barbarous independence, to the tame subjection, softness and effeminacy, of Roman polity and civilization.

The history of mankind furnishes ample materials for forming just conclusions with respect to the state and condition of the human species in the rude stages of social connexion. We find barbarous nations divided into small communities. Destitute of any political bond of union, hostile animosities were more prevalent among them than acts of amity and alliance. A country formed into natural boundaries by lakes, rivers, mountains, and arms of the sea, would very early be inhabited by communities ranged according to those natural divisions of territory. Those communities, though universally found to acknowledge chiefs who were capable of acting as their leaders in time of war, and their judges in time of peace, were not understood to yield to them absolute authority. Upon occasions of great moment the voice of the community was consulted: when meditating inroads upon neighbouring tribes, or when called on to defend themselves from hostile aggression, the most renowned for martial prowess was chosen as the leader in the progress of warfare. Larger communities came to be formed by the right of conquest or the influence of superior power: an individual thus gaining paramount ascen-

dency, according to the general sense entertained of his valour and wisdom.

In the heroic ages of Greece the people lived under the influence of petty kings or chiefs. In each society in which some degree of political connexion was acknowledged under a paramount chieftain, there were several leaders whose influence over their particular tribes was sufficient to direct their actions. These chieftains were often at war with one another, and sometimes with the leader who was understood to bear paramount sway among these various leaders. Such states were, for want of union, weak and insignificant; they could become important and powerful only by the cement of a political interest. It was reserved for the genius of Amphictyon to unite in one plan of politics the several independent kingdoms of Greece, that they might be delivered from those intestine divisions which rendered them a prey to one another, or to any enemy who might think himself sufficiently powerful to invade them. The Amphictyonic council, by the union which it inspired among the Greeks, enabled them to defend their liberties against all the force of the Persian empire. It has been observed, that the alliances of civilized governments are not attended with the success which might be expected from a just combination of their various powers. When multitudes of men are called forth into action, one soul ought to animate the whole body: all the

parts of the machine must harmoniously co-operate in producing the desired effect. "*Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur*," was a philosophical observation applied by Tacitus to the Britons in their opposition to Roman invasion.

Barbarous as the Caledonians undoubtedly were in the days of Agricola, it is evident that they understood the wisdom of a political union in opposing the progress of the Roman arms; and although they were discomfited in a pitched battle, they appeared constantly in arms in defence of their country, resisting with unabating valour the enemy of their liberty, and, pushing beyond the limits of their unsubdued territory, annoyed and harassed the invaders of their freedom.

Our historians have given kings to Scotland many ages before any such name as *Scotia* existed. It can, however, admit of no doubt, that while the Roman dominion prevailed in Britain, the inhabitants of Albinn, for such was the name which was applied by the Gael to that portion of the island possessed by their own race of people, acknowledged in their hostile expeditions leaders of eminent distinction among themselves, who, however, in time of peace, had not assumed universal dominion over them. It appears, then, that if we are to give credit to our ancient chronicles, Fergus, the son of Eric, a name still known in the Highlands, was the first leader who united the inhabitants of Albinn, from

Drumalbinn westward to Innsegaoll or the Hebrides, under one government. These were denominated *Scuit* from their mode of life, both by the provincial Britons and by the inhabitants of the low country of Albinn. "*Fergus filius Eric fuit* "*primus qui suscepit regnum Albaniæ, a monte* "*Drumalbinn usque ad mare Hyberniæ et ad Inche-* "*gall.*" Fergus was not the sovereign of all Albinn; he seems to have had chief influence, however, over the mountainous regions of the country. It can hardly admit of doubt, that when the force of the mountaineers of Albinn could be collected together, so as to be subject to the direction of one leader, the inhabitants of the low country would not long remain destitute of some political union. Whether the government of a monarch took place at an earlier period among the inhabitants of the low, or among those of the high country of Albinn, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine; but it is probable that ideas of regular government had been entertained by the inhabitants of the low country, perhaps for a long course of time before the Gadhel of the mountains were brought to acknowledge the supremacy of an individual ruler of their portion of the country. Down to a very late period, and even for forty years after the union of Scotland with England, when the power of the British Government might have been deemed sufficient to repress every species of misrule, the mountaineers of Scotland preyed,

often with impunity, upon the inhabitants of the low country; a circumstance from which we may reasonably deduce the conclusion, that a political union was rendered very early necessary among the low country inhabitants of Albinn, for the preservation of their property from the predatory incursions of a people, who inhabited a country presenting in every direction steep mountains, lakes, and deep vallies closely covered with wood, and consequently in a great measure unassailable by the efforts of regular warfare.

The inhabitants of Albinn, while living under the apprehension of the invasion of powerful foreign enemies, it is to be presumed, and indeed it is proved from historical evidence, had combined their exertions in defence of their country. This circumstance, at the same time that it served to prevent internal feuds and animosities, was calculated to raise the character of the people, by animating their breasts with the noblest sentiments which can stimulate men to the performance of glorious achievements. For a long period of time Roman ambition kept alive those elevated feelings; the invasions of a more barbarous enemy, the Danes, suffered no relaxation of martial prowess to exist among the inhabitants of Albinn; and, down to the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the crown of England, they had to contend for independence with a powerful people, highly distinguished for bravery, and ultimately succeeded in uniting themselves with

that people, whose martial glory was only exceeded by that love of liberty which enabled them to form a constitution of government, the pride of Britons, ever to be held by them as their highest glory to preserve.

The time in which Fergus the son of Eric, of the race of Conar, lived, forms a remarkable era in the history of Albinn. Prior to that period the Romans took their last farewell of Britain. The northern barbarous nations had for a century before the reign of Fergus been proceeding forth from their native lands, in such tremendous multitudes, as threatened, by successive inroads and ferocious hostilities, to extinguish not only the dominion, but the very name of Roman; and in the end their enterprizes were attended with success.

The inhabitants of the northern parts of Europe contiguous to the Baltic and the more extended ocean, were expert in the management of such vessels as were then known and employed for the purposes of navigation. The British shores, while as yet under the dominion of Rome, were visited by those roving nations; and their piracies and depredations were so frequent, that it was found necessary to guard against them by the appointment of an officer called *Comes tractus maritimi*, or *Comes littoris Saxonici, the count of the Saxon shore.* There can be no doubt, therefore, that for a considerable time before the Romans left the island of Britain,

the northern maritime nations had infested the island by frequent invasions. It cannot be supposed that the northern parts of the island were allowed to remain unmolested by the predatory spirit of those maritime people: their desire of establishing the superabundance of their population in new settlements, was manifested by the northern nations for centuries before the weakness of the Roman government had exposed the various people who had experienced Roman civilization, to the aggressions of numerous bodies of barbarians, who chose rather to possess themselves of the fruits of the industry of others, than submit to the toils of rendering their native soils more productive by the pursuits of laborious industry.

To those maritime rovers the situation and population of the small islands on the northern and western coasts of Britain presented an easy conquest. It appears that the Western Islands, the Hebrides, had got the name of *Innsegaoll* before Fergus the son of Eric had established a kingly influence over the inhabitants of the mountainous division of Albinn, from Drumalbinn to the western or Atlantic Ocean. If this fact be admitted, the Danes were in possession of the Western Isles of Scotland called *Innsegaoll*, within a short period after the Romans had quitted the island of Britain, and left the provincial Britons to be defended by their own exertions against their enemies.

The period of the Saxons having been invited by the southern Britons to come over to Britain, to aid them in their defence against the Scots and Picts, is fixed at the year 450 of the Christian era. "As the Saxons were, by their piracies "on the coasts of Gaul and Britain, better known "at the time of their settling in this island, the "conquest of Britain is, by the ancient writers, "ascribed to them, and not to the Angles or "Jutes; nay, Britain was for some time from "them called *Saxony*, but in the end the name "of *Anglia*, from the Angles, prevailed."* That England bore the name of *Saxony* for some time after the prevalence of the power of the Saxons in it, is confirmed by the fact, that the Gael of Scotland and Ireland know England by no other name than that of *Sassonn*, and Englishmen they call *Sassonnich;* whereas they denominate the kingdom of Scotland *Albinn*, and its inhabitants *Albinnich*.

The Britons struggled for independence against the Saxons, who were aided by frequent migrations of their countrymen, for nearly the space of a century and a half from the landing of the Saxons by the invitation of the southern Britons. The establishment of the Saxon heptarchy is computed to have taken place about the year of Christ 585.

* ANT. Universal Hist. vol. xix. p. 175.

The kingdom of Northumberland, which is said to have extended to Edinburgh Frith, is computed to have been established A. D. 547. The Saxons treated their enemies with great cruelty, and it is said, that the prisoners they took in war they immolated to their gods.

During the latter times of the Roman government in Britain, the Romans seemed to have relinquished the idea of conquering the northern Britons of Caledonia. They were satisfied with the defence afforded by walls, in the lines of which, at certain intervals, Roman soldiers were stationed, to repress the incursions of the *Picti Britanni*, afterwards distinguished by the names of *Deucaledones*, *Vecturiones*, *Mæati*, *Scoti*, and ultimately by the names of *Picti* and *Scoti*; by which last names the whole inhabitants of the northern division of the island of Britain, to the north of the Friths of Clyde and Forth, came to be distinguished by the provincial Britons.

In whatever manner those latterly called *Picti* and *Scoti*, or *Picts* and *Scots*, had been governed during the prevalence of the Roman government in Britain, it came to be a measure of high prudence, if not of urgent necessity, for them to act with concert against those barbarous enemies, whose invasions and incursions were frequent, and must have become horrible to the inhabitants of the island of Britain throughout its whole extent. The southern Britons, although they

fought for a long period of time for independence, failed of success, for want of that combined union of strength, by which alone they could be enabled to stem the torrent of the northern people, Saxons, Angles, and Danes, by whom they were invaded. In about half a century after the Saxons had landed in South Britain, they extended their conquests over all the provinces to the south of the Humber.

We have reason to believe that the northern invaders, known to the Gael of Scotland and Ireland by the name of *Lochlinnich*, were in possession of the Western Isles of Scotland, anciently known by the name of *Hebrides*, prior to the beginning of the sixth century. The time at which Fergus the son of Eric, or Eirc, (this last mode of spelling the name is also proper, being the inflexion of the genitive case), began to reign over the mountainous division of Albinn, is fixed by Scottish historians at the year 403 of the Christian era; but it is evident from the testimony of our ancient chronicles, that the reign of Fergus, the son of Eric, cannot be dated at an earlier period than 503 years after Christ. The authority of those chronicles which were preserved in our religious houses cannot be called in question, as matters of historical evidence.

It is well established as an historical fact, that Aodan or Aidan the son of Gauran, more properly Gabhran, died A. D. 605.

1. Fergus, the son of Eric, reigned	3	*years.*
2. Domhangart, son of Fergus,	5	
3. Congal, son of Domhangart,	24	
4. Gabhran, son of Domhangart,	22	
5. Conal, son of Congal,	14	
6. Aodan, son of Gabhran,	34	
	102	

Deduct 102 years from 605, when Aodan died, there remain 503 years, which fix the commencement of the reign of Fergus, son of Eric, at that period of the Christian era.

Prior to the time of Fergus the son of Eric, the inhabitants of the mountainous division of Albinn were governed, like those of all countries in the barbarous stages of society, by petty princes or chieftains, whose conduct was regulated by the usage of the people; but knowing no sovereign invested with that degree of authority called supreme, chieftains ruled within their own territories in a state of proud independence of each other, guided by a spirit of rivalry, which pervaded the breasts of the people; feuds and animosities universally prevailed, which, at the same time that they weakened the strength of individual tribes, unfitted them for making successful resistance against a foreign enemy. In this state the Danes found the inhabitants of the Hebridian Isles of Scotland, which being destitute of any political union with the inhabitants of the mainland, they

became subject to the dominion of a foreign people, probably in the course of the 5th century, while the conquest of the more fertile portions of the island of Britain were daily affording flattering prospects of new settlements to the northern migratory hordes of the continent.

Fergus the son of Eric, of the seed of Conar, was the first person who reigned over Albinn from Drumalbinn westward to Innsegaoll. This name was given to the Hebrides by the inhabitants of the mainland of Scotland, when they came to be subject to the dominion of foreigners. This appellation of *Innsegaoll* is understood by every Gael, as signifying *islands possessed by foreigners or strangers*, and were so denominated, in the same sense as the country in the neighbourhood of Dublin was called, corruptly, by the English, *Fingal*. It is well known that the Danes possessed that country for a considerable length of time, and therefore it properly acquired in the language of the natives the name of *Fomgaoll*, that is, *the territory possessed by foreigners or strangers*. Fingal is a variation of the name more agreeable to English pronunciation. Part of the country of Catness, or Caithness, as now spelt, is called *Gaollthao'*, as possessed by strangers, and signifies literally *the quarter of strangers;* this name serves to distinguish it from the other quarter or division of it possessed by the race of the ancient inhabitants called *Cat-thao*, as before-mentioned.

Our ancient chronicles were written originally in Gaelic; they were translated into Latin by our churchmen, who were almost the only persons who had any pretensions to the knowledge of those arts which entitled the possessors to be ranked among those who had the character of learned. Those ancient chronicles, written in the native language of the inhabitants of Albinn, ultimately denominated *Scots*, had been carried down in that language till the death of Edgar, the son of Malcolm Ceanmore.

Down to the time of Edgar our kings were distinguished by their Gaelic patronymical names, regularly so from the time of Kenneth Mac Alpin. Prior to that period we find several of our kings denominated, as is common among the Gael at this day, by some property or quality belonging to the person, as *Eocha buidhe*, translated *Eacha flavus, fair* or *yellow haired: Conadh cear, Kinot Sinister, Conadh, left-handed: Domhnal-breac,* (*mh* pronounced as *v*), *Dovenald varius, Dovenal, the speckled,* applied at this day to a person marked with the small-pox: *Fearchar fada, Fearchar longus, Fearchar the long: Eochoidh Rinnemhail, Eachel habens curvum nasum,* more properly *Eochal-ronabhal,* which also occurs, expressive of *a round nose,* having the curve of an apple: *Aodh-fionn, Ed albus, Aodh the fair,**

* See GERALDUS CAMBRENSIS upon the Manners of the Irish.

&c. We shall mention the names of a few of the last kings of Scotland, as translated from ancient chronicles written in Gaelic.

"Donchath Mac Trini abbatis de Dunkeld et "Bethoc filiæ Malcolm Mac-Kinat 6 an. Inter- "fectus a Macbeth-Mac-Finleg in Bothgouanan, "et sep. in Iona.

"Macbeth-Mac-Finleg 17 an. Interfectus in "Lunfanan a Malcolm-Mac-Donchat, et sepultus "in Iona.

"Lulach fatuus 4 mens. Interfectus est in "Essei in Strathbolgi, et sep. in Iona.

"Malcolm Mac-Donechat, 37 an. et 8 mens. "Interfectus in Inneraldan, sep. in Iona. Hic "fuit vir S. Margaretæ.

"Donald Mac-Donechat prius regnavit 6 "mens. et postea expulsus est, et

"Donekan Mac-Malcolm regnavit 6 mens. "hoc interfecto a Malpeder Macloen comite de "Moerns in Monachedin: rursum Donald Mac- "Donechat regnavit 3 annis. Hic captus est "ab Edgar Mac-Malcolm, cæcatus est et mortu- "us in Roscolpin, sepultus in Dunkelden, hinc "translata ossa in Iona.

"Edgar 9 an. Mortuus in Dunedin, et sepul- "tus in Dunfermling."

The kings who follow bear not patronymical names. The English language began in Malcolm-Mac-Donechat's time to be spoken at his Court, his queen being the sister of Edgar Etheling.

Malcolm-Mac-Donechat was commonly called Calum Ceannmore, which is literally *Calum of the large head;* his brother, Donald-Mac-Donechat, was commonly known by the name of Donald Ban, which signifies, *the fair-haired Donald.*

The mother of Donechat was Bethoc, the daughter of Malcolm-Mac-Kinat; this princess's name is common in the Highlands at this day.

Macbeth bore the name of his father and grandfather; which mode of appellation is also common in the Highlands.

Donekan Mac-Malcolm was killed by Malpeder Mat Loen, count of the Mearns; to which country the English language had not as yet been introduced.

Edgar was buried in Dunedin, the Gaelic name of Edinburgh at this day.

The chronicles originally written in Gaelic, come down no farther than the death of Edgar: The following kings are not designed by the Gaelic patronymical names. A revolution had taken place, and began to spread diffusively in the population, not only of the southern, but of the northern regions of proper Scotland, and introduced a change in language and civil polity, which has been left in obscurity by all the writers of Scottish history, from the earliest periods of that history down to the present epoch of scientific illumination.

There is every reason to induce belief, that the island of Britain was colonised in an early age of the progress of mankind from east to west, by emigrants from Gaul. The descendants of these, in the course of ages, as the people multiplied, extended their population westward and northward through the whole territories of the British Islands. The Welsh language proves beyond the possibility of question, that the Britons of the northern and of the southern parts of the island were in ancient times a kindred race. It cannot be maintained, that the Welsh people of the present times speak without alteration or corruption the language of their Gaulish progenitors; but their language, compared with that of the Gael of Scotland and Ireland, clearly demonstrates, that at some remote period their ancestors spoke the same language, though in the course of ages a mixture of strangers introduced new words, and obliterated the original Gaulish or Gaelic language so much, as to render it in its altered state unintelligible to those Britons who preserved themselves free from an admixture with strangers. The Gaelic language of the inhabitants of a considerable portion of Ireland is not very intelligible to the Gael of Scotland, nor even to those of Ireland, who, it is admitted, speak the ancient language of the Gael in greatest purity. There are many manuscripts of considerable antiquity written in what is called *Irish*, which the greatest masters of the Gaelic of Scotland are

unable thoroughly to understand: The same may be affirmed of those Gaelic scholars in Ireland who are most conversant in, and speak most purely the Gaelic of the Scriptures, as translated into that language under the pious patronage of the learned Bishop Bedel. What is the natural inference to be drawn from these facts? When the Romans first became acquainted with the British Islands, they found them completely inhabited by men who were not disposed to submit tamely to the dominion of foreigners: they struggled for a long period of time for native freedom against the Roman arms; and Agricola found, in the first century of the Christian era, 30,000 Caledonians magnanimously combined to defend their country against the unjust invasion of the conquerors of the southern parts of the island. Thus, then, it appears, that at that period the population of Caledonia was fully equal to the means of subsistence, which its state, chiefly pastoral at the time, could be supposed to produce. Ireland, it is to be presumed, was in a similar state. Whence did Ireland receive its population? Undoubtedly from Britain. At what period? To this question no precise answer can be given; but it may be affirmed, that the peopling of Ireland from Britain commenced at a period of time when the language of the British people was universally the same. It is probable, that the earliest emigrations from Britain proceeded to Ireland from the Mull

of Galloway; and when Ireland became better known to the ancient Britons, emigrations would naturally take place from the western extremities of Wales: and thus Ireland, as it received its population from Britain, the language of the Britons must have been the only one anciently known in that island. And it is the undoubted fact, that the language called Gaelic was the only language known in Ireland until the Danish and English invasions, and the consequent settlement of foreigners came to prevail in many parts of that country. And although the Danes were expelled from Ireland, the language of some portion of the ancient inhabitants suffered considerable change, and ultimately was completely extinguished in many parts of Ireland, by the introduction of numerous bodies of English settlers among them. These revolutions took place while as yet a very large portion of the island remained free from foreign admixture of inhabitants, and consequently preserved the ancient language in its original purity. Accordingly we find, that the purest Gaelic, as contained in the Irish Bible, is spoken by the inhabitants of Connaught, the remotest province of Ireland from the island of Great Britain. Now it is a certain fact, that a Scottish Highlander and a Connaught man can converse together at this day, without any difficulty in communicating their sentiments to one another. The Irish universally acknowledge the

Gaelic language of the Irish Bible to be the purest Gaelic of Ireland; and every good Gaelic scholar in Scotland must admit, that it is an excellent translation of the Scriptures into the Gaelic tongue.

It is probable that the Isle of Man was colonized by Britons at as early a period as they adventured to navigate what is now called the Irish Sea. It is an undoubted fact, that at this day the Manx, or Gaelic language of the Isle of Man, is perfectly intelligible to a Scottish Highlander. These circumstances concur to establish the fact, that at a remote period the language of all the Britannic Isles was radically the same, however the inhabitants might differ in certain words and modes of speech, which might be denominated *local*, as found to prevail in different districts of country.

The language of Wales and that of the Highlands of Scotland differ very materially from one another at this day; but still it can be proved demonstrably, from a comparative etymology of the ancient languages of the Britannic Isles, that their inhabitants were in times beyond historical record a kindred people. Natural objects of striking appearance would early obtain significant names, the meaning of which may have been lost in the language of one portion of the same kindred race of people, and preserved in that of another portion of the same people, separated for many ages from one another, with-

out any communication, as the Welsh and the Highland Gael of Scotland have been from the establishment of Roman dominion in the island of Great Britain. "*Duco*," says a learned Welsh author,* "we know, is the same with our *tuyso*, "*to lead*, as *dux* is no other than our *tuysog*, "*a leader* or *general;* and both our words come "from the old *tuys, a head* or *beginning*. If "it be objected that the original signification "of our *tyuys* (for *heads*) does not thence so "evidently appear, I shall make it more plain, "by adding, that in the ancient Scotish, (which "retains several *British* words long since anti-"quated amongst us, as we others, lost amongst "them), *tus* at this day signifies *a beginning*, and "*tyisheach, a head or chief.*" A great multitude of compound words of the Welsh language can be readily etymologized by a good Gaelic scholar, which a mere Welsh linguist cannot decipher. For instance, *judgment* is *braud* in Welsh, and a *judge* is *braudur*. This is obviously a compound of judgment and man, but *gur* is *man* in Welsh, therefore the word ought to be pronounced *braud-gur*. The original Gaelic compound is *brethfhir:* In the compound, the letters *th* in the first and *fh* in the second word are quiescent, and pronounced as if written *Bre-er*. *Baron* is called in Welsh *breir*, which is a compound of the

* British Etymologicon, by DAVID PARRY, A.B. of Jesus College.

Gaelic *bre*, and of *fir* the genitive of *fer, a man; brefhir, fh* quiescent. To pursue this subject would lead us far beyond the limits which we have assigned to our observations upon the present subject of inquiry.

The particular manual employments of artificers in iron and wood were known to the Britons universally before the communication of the Gael of Wales and those of Scotland were cut off by the Romans, the Saxons, Angles, Danes and Normans. A *blacksmith* and *carpenter* are known by the same appellation in both countries at this day, *gov* and *saer*, with a small variation in pronunciation; and the *smith's anvil* has precisely the same name in both. It is therefore evident, that before the invasion of even the Romans, the Britons had made some considerable progress in the knowledge of those arts which are calculated to increase the comforts and conveniences of social life, and that the Britons of the south were not separated from those of the north of the island, while as yet a purely pastoral people, living, according to Cæsar's information respecting the inland inhabitants, *lacte et carne*, upon the milk and the flesh of animals, and clothed with skins. It is impossible to entertain a rational doubt, that the inhabitants of the British isles were radically the same people, however they might differ in dialects, before the Romans became acquainted with them. The Anglo-Saxon population of Scotland is clearly demonstrat-

ed in Mr Chalmers's *Caledonia*, in his Scoto-Saxon period of the history of Scotland. English population was forced upon Ireland: in Scotland, the introduction of English and Normans into the more fertile parts of the country was made by its native kings, and extended by their authority: a wise policy, we think, which continued to operate for ages, and tended to strengthen the hands of the sovereign by an addition of an industrious race of people, who, immixing with the native inhabitants, at the same time that they communicated a knowledge of their language, taught them the arts of rendering the soil more productive by persevering industry. The superior industry of the descendants of that mixed population is visible at this day, where the spirit of agricultural improvements has penetrated the wilds of Caledonia, and has gone far to fix the attention of the pastoral *Scoti* to the improvement of the soil, who, till very recent times, lived as they did in the days of Ammianus Marcellinus, *per diversa vagantes*, moving in small bodies through their glens and mountains with their herds and flocks, apparently unattached to any fixed place of residence.

The Gael of Ireland and Scotland were not anciently ignorant of the name of Britain. The latter apply in modern times the name *Breatinn* to the island of Great Britain; England they term *Sassonn*, and Scotland, *Albinn:* The Irish call England *Sagson*, (*x* is not a letter of the Gaelic

alphabet), and Scotland they denominate *Albinn*, as do the native Gael. In Lhuid's Irish English Dictionary we read, "*Breatin,—the isle of Britain.* "It is now used only for Wales, as is also *Bre-* "*athnach* for a *Welshman. Graig na m breath-* "*nach, Baile na m breathnach, Sliabh breaghnach,* "&c.; places so called in Ireland, because for- "merly inhabited by Britons. K." That emigrants at various times passed over into Ireland from Wales, not as enemies, but as a kindred people, there is no reason to doubt. The Gaelic words above-mentioned, expressive of *rock, mountain, town,* demonstrate the residence of Welshmen in Ireland. The possession, however, was not held by right of conquest, for it extended not over a great tract of country, but took place in the mode of occasional friendly intercourse. South Britain, long before it was known by the name of *England,* was a cultivated country; the inhabitants of which, excepting its more barren and mountainous regions, were inured to the agricultural labours of the field; for even in the days of Julius Cæsar it produced abundance of corn, although it may be admitted, that a considerable portion of the inhabitants lived in a pastoral state. But it is an undoubted matter of fact, that, long prior to the era of the departure of the Romans from Great Britain, the great body of the people subject to their dominion were acquainted with the arts of agriculture, and practised the cultivation of the soil with a con-

siderable degree of success. The fertility of the country producing the means of human subsistence in abundance, presented to the eye of the migratory hordes of the continent of Europe a subject, the acquisition of which merited the most strenuous exertion of military enterprise. Accordingly the superabundant population of the north of Europe looked towards the best cultivated regions of Britain for subsistence, in so much that the native Britons of the south became ultimately overwhelmed by an irresistible torrent of foreign invaders; and their descendants penetrated in the course of time into the more fertile parts of the island of Britain upon the eastern coast, as far as the Scottish Frith, which put a limit to their progress in the mode of conquest. The Northumbrian king Edwin had fortified the rock upon which the castle of Edinburgh now stands, as its name clearly evinces; *burgh* signifying, in the Saxon language, *a fortification.* The Gael have to this day retained the name of *Edwin* as expressive of the fact, that the rock upon which the castle stands was used as a fort or place of strength by Edwin, it being called in their language *Dunedin,* (the *w* is not a letter of the Gaelic alphabet). Edwin lived in the seventh century, and towards the end of it, Egfrid, one of his successors, having passed the Frith of Forth, was vanquished by the Picts: the Northumbrian government became

more limited, and never regained its former extent.*

Did the Scots totally supplant and utterly extinguish the ancient stock of the Picts? The answer must be given in the negative; because we find the country still abounding with people at times contending with the conqueror, for the re-establishment of the dominion of princes better entitled to the obedience of the people, in their view of rightful inheritance. Such was the savage barbarity of the Scots after their victories over the Picts, that, say the historians, the Pictish people were so completely destroyed, that not a trace of their language remained as a sign of any such having existed. What is the just inference to be drawn from this historical fact,—the sudden extinction of the Pictish language? It cannot be disputed that a considerable population remained in the Pictish country after its conquest. The language of the people of the low and of the high country was the same; they were both Gael, and spoke Gaelic; and therefore, as no other language was spoken among them, no other could be found to exist. Fordun's words are, "*Sic quidem, non solum reges "et duces gentis illius deleti sunt, verum etiam "stirps, et genus, adeo cum idiomatis sui lingua "defecisse legitur.*"† Such was the fact, as

* CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 256.

† Scotichron. lib. iv. cap. 4.

found by Fordun in historical record existing before his time. The same author relates afterwards, that Kenneth took under his protection the harmless part of the people, "*populum imbellem* sub fide pacis suscepit." Many who resisted he slew, and others he forced to surrender, "quosdam ad deditionem compulsos obtinuit." The inhabitants of the low country of Scotland were universally called *Draonaich* by the Gael of the *Garbhchriochan* or *mountainous regions* of Scotland, until the introduction of a different race of men into the countries formerly inhabited by the Draonaich or Picts. This new race got the name of *Gaoill*, that is, *strangers;* and they are so called at this day. The low countries lying along the eastern coasts of the counties of Sutherland, of Ross, of Inverness and Nairn, to the westward of the town of Nairn, which were unquestionably subject to the dominion of the Pictish kings, still speak the Gaelic language. In no part of that extent of Pictish coast has the English language prevailed, excepting in the towns of Cromarty and Fortrose; the former of which was, and the latter is still, a royal borough. The settlement of Anglo-Saxons in these burghs was agreeable to the policy of our kings after the death of Malcolm Ceanmore, as distinctly and most satisfactorily shewn by Mr Chalmers in his valuable work entitled *Caledonia*. Beyond these the English language has gained little ground. In the neighbourhood of

the burgh of Fortrose, there is a village called *Avoch*, inhabited entirely by fishers: they speak English; they intermarry among themselves; and are completely segregated from the inhabitants of the Gaelic country in their close vicinity. The date of their settlement is not ascertained; but that they were originally an Anglo-Saxon people, settled and protected by royal authority, can admit of no doubt.

Kenneth Mac Alpin having subdued the Picts, extended his authority over the whole country of Albinn. "Picti vero, reparatis aliquantulum "Anglorum auxilio viribus, quatuor annis Kene- "dum infestabant. Sed consequenter postmo- "dum inopinatis incursibus, et variis eos stragi- "bus debilitans, duodecimo tandem regni sui "anno septies una die congreditur; et innumeris "Pictorum populis prostratis, regnum deinceps "de fluvio Tyne juxta Northumbriam ad Orca- "dum insulas, ut dudum Sanctus Adamnanus "Hyensis Abbas prophetandò retulit, totum sibi "ratificat confirmatum."* We are entitled to conclude, therefore, that in the time of Kenneth Mac Alpin, in the 9th century, the whole country was inhabited by the people called *Scots* and *Picts*. The Danes were at that period masters of the Orkney Islands; but it does not appear that they made in that age any settlements in any part of the mainland of Albinn.

* Scotichron. lib. iv. cap. 4.

Earl was a title of nobility known among the Scandinavians. The title of earl of Caithness existed long before that of Sutherland had a name. Sigurd, who was of Danish extraction, married a daughter of Malcolm II. who, in the beginning of the eleventh century, put his grandson Torfin in possession of the earldom of Caithness.* The English name of Sutherland, as applied to any portion of the northern parts of Scotland, appears not earlier than the time of William the Lion. The whole country to the northward of the boundaries of Ross was anciently called *Catt*, and was separated by a range of mountains which formed it into two divisions. King William, in a charter to Hugh Freskin, a descendant of an Anglo-Saxon family, gave him the southern division, which is there called *Sutherland*, to distinguish it from the other division of Caithness lying to the northward. The grant of the southern division of Caithness was acquired by Hugh Freskin, in consequence of the rebellion of the earl of Caithness, who formerly possessed the whole extent of country more anciently denominated *Catt*. But although king William gave to the southern division the English name of Sutherland, and created it an earldom, the native inhabitants changed not its ancient name; the country still continued to be called *Catt*, and the earl of Sutherland *Morer Catt*, which signi-

* Torfæus, Orcades. Chalmers's Caledonia, B. iii. c. 1.

fies, in the Gaelic language, *the great man of Catt;* and which appellation is continued down to this day. The earl of Caithness is called *Morer Gaoll,* which literally signifies the *stranger lord* or *great man.* At what precise period of time the northern division of Caithness got the name of *Gaollthao'*, it is difficult to ascertain; but it could not have received that name until the ancient people had been supplanted by strangers. It is well observed by Mr Chalmers, that the Danes who settled in the Orkney islands were successful in making settlements on the coasts of ancient Caithness; but that the ancient race of inhabitants had not been driven from the interior parts of the country. The Danes had however built upon the coasts burgs or forts of stone, to overawe the native inhabitants. That the Danish language was spoken at least in parts of the coasts of Caithness, there can be no reason to doubt; but it being a matter of fact well authenticated, that the Danish earls of Caithness showed no disposition to acknowledge the sovereignty of the kings of Scotland over their dominions, it must have appeared as a wise expedient for the Scottish kings to follow the same measures with respect to the northern division of Caithness, as were put in practice in the southern division of that country. It became the policy of our Scottish kings who reigned after the death of Malcolm Ceanmore, to introduce Anglo-Norman and Anglo-Saxon families

into all parts of the kingdom, where forfeitures opened a door to new grants of lands. These were made to men of distinction, who carried along with them many followers, for the double purpose of personal safety, and the cultivation and improvement of the soil. The low country of North Caithness appeared to be worthy of royal attention in this respect, and accordingly the family of Sinclair got an early establishment in that country. Royal burghs were also erected in the same manner as in other parts of the kingdom, by encouraging the settlement of strangers by means of corporate and monopoly privileges; and then the ancient race was either gradually supplanted or incorporated with the new settlers, so as to acquire their manners and language. Such change was sufficient to authorize the name of *Gaoll-thaø'* to be applied to that portion of the country where the settlement of strangers took place.

There is reason to believe, that the name of *Gaoll-thaø'* was not applied to any part of the ancient *Catt* in the twelfth century.

We are informed by Fordun, that King William led an army into Caithness in the year 1196. "Quo anno rex Willelmus exercitum duxit in "Cathenesiam, et transito fluvio Ochiello, utram-"que provinciam Cathenensium, interfectis non-"nullis perturbatoribus pacis, voluntati suæ sub-"egit. Et effugato Haroldo ejusdem comite, "usque ad id tempus bono viro et fideli, sed

"tunc per instinctum uxoris suæ, quæ fuit filia "Mached, turpiter decipiens, contra regem do- "minum suum insurrexerat.*

The river *Qichcil* falls into the *Caol Cattach*, or, as it is now called in English, *the Frith of Dornoch*, and runs through the valley called *Strath Oichcil*, and divides the county of Sutherland from that of Ross.

Ancient Caithness, according to the little treatise we have already noticed, formed a seventh division of Albinn, and was divided by the *Mound* or *Monadh* into two parts. We have no intimation of any other names being given to these divisions than *Cathness citra montem et ultra montem*, that is, *Caithness on this side and on the other side of the mountain* or *monadh*. That the Danes made some settlements on the coasts of Caithness prior to the twelfth century, cannot with reason be doubted; but upon the supposition that the Danes had extended their settlements, and had supplanted the ancient inhabitants, without the introduction of Anglo-Saxon colonies, the Danish language must have prevailed as long as the Danes had there remained an unmixed people. The Anglo-Saxon population of the northern division of Caithness must therefore be ascribed to the policy of our Scottish kings, who had, from the days of Malcolm Ceanmore, persevered in bestowing their favours upon their new sub-

* FORDUN, lib. vii. c. 59.

jects of Anglo-Saxon and Norman extraction, rather than upon the ancient Gaelic race, for reasons which appear obviously wise in such barbarous times. The ancient *maormors*, or *heads of clans* and districts of country, hardly acknowledged any superior. They loved and cherished a proud though barbarous independence; they viewed the introduction of strangers with a jealous eye. The partial preference shown to these strangers created discontents, which frequently broke out into turbulence and rebellion against the sovereign. These rebellions the sovereign was able to crush by means of the aid he received from his new subjects, who grew and multiplied as the power of the heads of the ancient race of the inhabitants became weakened and extinguished. In this manner the English language was introduced into Scotland in all those parts in which it prevails. The Danes were in possession of the Hebrides for many centuries: the names of places in the western islands clearly establish the fact of a Danish population. The Danes, although they must have introduced their language into these islands, could not have preserved it longer than their supremacy remained. When the kings of Scotland gained the ascendency, the Danish population gave way to the redundant population of the mainland of Scotland; and thus the ancient race and language came again to supplant those strangers to whom was applied the term *Gaoill*, and who gave occa-

sion to the name of *Innsegaoll*, which was applied by the Gael of the mainland of Scotland to the Hebrides, as an appropriate appellation, while these islands continued in the possession of a foreign people.

The feudal law was established in Scotland in the eleventh century. We have upon record charters of Eadgar, the son and successor of Malcolm Ceanmore, addressed to his subjects, "Eadgarus Rex Scottorum, omnibus per regnum "suum Scottis et Anglis salutem."

It may be observed, that his subjects consisted of Scotsmen and Englishmen.

Another charter of his runs in the same terms, "Scottis et Anglis."

The Scots or Gael were at that period the prevailing people.

A charter of Alexander, the brother of Eadgar, is addressed in the same manner, "Scottis et "Anglis."

The charters of David I. mark forcibly the rapid flow of strangers into Scotland.

"David Dei Gracia Rex Scotorum Episcopis, "&c. et omnibus fidelibus suis tocius regni sui "Francis et Anglicis, et Scottis et Galwensibus."

A subsequent charter is addressed, "Omnibus "probis hominibus suis Francis et Anglicis, quam "futuris tam presentibus totius terre sue."*

* See ANDERSON's Diplomata Scotiæ.

These charters demonstrate a French and English population: the latter implies an expected influx of both these people; and it can admit of no doubt, that men of distinction, both Norman and English, were very acceptable to our Scottish kings: many of them got grants of lands in different parts of the kingdom, and many were established in the country by marriages with heiresses, and became liege subjects by chartered rights flowing from the crown. Thus, a baron, as observed by Mr Chalmers, obtained from the king a grant of lands, which he settled with his followers; built a castle, a church, a mill, and a brewhouse, and thereby formed a hamlet, which, in the practice of the age, was called the *Ton of the Baron.*

" But the reign of Malcolm Kenmore seems to " have been the first period of a general deniza- " tion of Saxon in Scotland. That monarch had " been bred in England, and married an English " princess. Her retinue were all English: Eng- " lish, in consequence, would become the lan- " guage of the Court. The courtiers would carry " it to their respective homes; their domestics " would be ambitious to speak the language of " their masters; and thus it would be gradually " introduced into every fashionable circle. Many " Saxons likewise left England on account of " the Norman oppression, and very naturally " took refuge in the neighbouring country, where " they had all reason to hope for a friendly re-

what was called the Pictish country, all along the eastern coast of Scotland, to the southward of the royal burgh of Nairn, the English language extended rapidly, while the Gaelic language was preserved only in the mountainous regions on each side of Drumalbinn, and to the northward of the burgh of Nairn, except, as we have mentioned, in the royal burghs of Fortrose, Cromarty, and the level country of Caithness.

The system of feudal tenures having been established, the king was held to be the superior lord, or paramount proprietor, of all the lands within his kingdom; and he came to be considered as the fountain whence flowed all rights to the possession of lands, and with them the distribution of honours. While these strengthened the hands of the sovereign, subinfeudations, and the consequent increase of vassalage, added to the strength of the vassals of the crown, who being bound to obey the king's summons to attend his person in warlike exploits, whether of an offensive or defensive nature, his right as feudal sovereign gave him the command of the whole popular force of his dominions. The Anglo-Saxon favourites must have given a ready obedience to his commands, and greatly facilitated the establishment of the feudal system, while the ancient allodial proprietors, who owned no superior title than that of the sword, yielded with reluctance to the genius of regular feudal submission. It is handed down among the

Highlanders, as a contemptuous saying of one of the Lords of the Isles, that *he put no value upon a right that depended upon the possession of a sheep's skin.* Had that division of Scotland which was possessed by the pastoral people called Scots, been equally susceptible of agricultural improvements as was that portion of it which lies to the south of the Friths of Forth and Clyde, and along the eastern coasts of the country lying to the north of the Frith of Forth to that of Nairn, it is more than probable that the Gaelic language would have been long before the present time totally extinguished, and no trace of it remaining other than in the names of places and mountains, as in other parts of Scotland where the English language only is now known and spoken by the inhabitants: But the nature of a portion of the country was such as to render it inaccessible to strangers; a circumstance which preserved the language of the ancient inhabitants, their manners and customs, their poetry, their barbarous usages, their predatory genius, which never ceased to produce direful feuds and animosities among themselves, and disposed them to harass the regularly industrious inhabitants of the agricultural parts of the country, by committing spoliations of their property, without the hope of the sufferer being able to penetrate into the mountainous recesses of the plunderer, either for the purposes of retaliation or legal punishment. While we accord with Mr

what was called the Pictish country, all along the eastern coast of Scotland, to the southward of the royal burgh of Nairn, the English language extended rapidly, while the Gaelic language was preserved only in the mountainous regions on each side of Drumalbinn, and to the northward of the burgh of Nairn, except, as we have mentioned, in the royal burghs of Fortrose, Cromarty, and the level country of Caithness.

The system of feudal tenures having been established, the king was held to be the superior lord, or paramount proprietor, of all the lands within his kingdom; and he came to be considered as the fountain whence flowed all rights to the possession of lands, and with them the distribution of honours. While these strengthened the hands of the sovereign, subinfeudations, and the consequent increase of vassalage, added to the strength of the vassals of the crown, who being bound to obey the king's summons to attend his person in warlike exploits, whether of an offensive or defensive nature, his right as feudal sovereign gave him the command of the whole popular force of his dominions. The Anglo-Saxon favourites must have given a ready obedience to his commands, and greatly facilitated the establishment of the feudal system, while the ancient allodial proprietors, who owned no superior title than that of the sword, yielded with reluctance to the genius of regular feudal submission. It is handed down among the

Highlanders, as a contemptuous saying of one of the Lords of the Isles, that *he put no value upon a right that depended upon the possession of a sheep's skin.* Had that division of Scotland which was possessed by the pastoral people called Scots, been equally susceptible of agricultural improvements as was that portion of it which lies to the south of the Friths of Forth and Clyde, and along the eastern coasts of the country lying to the north of the Frith of Forth to that of Nairn, it is more than probable that the Gaelic language would have been long before the present time totally extinguished, and no trace of it remaining other than in the names of places and mountains, as in other parts of Scotland where the English language only is now known and spoken by the inhabitants: But the nature of a portion of the country was such as to render it inaccessible to strangers; a circumstance which preserved the language of the ancient inhabitants, their manners and customs, their poetry, their barbarous usages, their predatory genius, which never ceased to produce direful feuds and animosities among themselves, and disposed them to harass the regularly industrious inhabitants of the agricultural parts of the country, by committing spoliations of their property, without the hope of the sufferer being able to penetrate into the mountainous recesses of the plunderer, either for the purposes of retaliation or legal punishment. While we accord with Mr

Chalmers's able exposition of the question respecting the Anglo-Saxon population of Scotland, the ingenious discussion of that learned author, with regard to the peopling of the Highlands of Scotland by colonies from Ireland, is, we must acknowledge, adverse to the ideas which we had entertained upon that subject. The writer of these sheets would feel more pride in being descended from an ancient hero of Erinn than from the illustrious Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh; and wishes from his heart that the wisdom of British policy were equally exerted, in promoting the attachment of the Gael of Erinn to the British government, by means of that spirit of beneficence and conciliation which has been shown to the Gael of Albinn, since the Rebellion of the eighteenth century; and no doubt would remain that the prowess of the former would shine conspicuously in the British annals of present times, in preserving the honour, supporting the dignity, and securing the liberty by which England has been long pre-eminently exalted, and which, by the bravery of her people, conducted upon the principles of wise policy, she will long enjoy.

The Gael of Albinn and of Erinn were not only radically the same people, but continued for many ages before and after the time of Fergus, the son of Eric, assimilated by the same language, manners, customs, usages and laws. The succession of an Irish prince could have introduced no change among the people in any respect what-

ever. The language of Erinn was the same with that of Albinn. If the Pictish language had undergone any variation by the conquest of Kenneth M'Alpin, it could not be ascribed to any change introduced by the succession of an Irish prince, or even the introduction of an Irish people into Ceantire or Argyle, as the people universally spoke the same language. It is hardly to be doubted, that some shades of difference had subsisted between the language of the Draonaich or Picts, and those of the Scaoit, or mountainous division of Albinn; but the names of places in the Pictish country clearly demonstrate, that the language of the eastern and western Gael were the same. The words *abir* and *inver* are taken notice of by Mr Chalmers, as affording a proof of the difference of acceptation or meaning of these words among the Picts and Scots. The meaning of the word *abir* is attended with no difficulty. *Abir* signifies *an opening to any river*, whether at the mouth or sides of it; *beal-a*, is *the mouth of the opening*, and used to denote *an opening to a river where it is fordable; bir* is an antiquated word for *water*, but it is preserved in the word *to-bir* for *a well or fountain*, and in the verb *birg*, which signifies *to gush*, and *birgagh* is *gushing*, as of water from a fountain. *Inbhir* denotes the discharge of one stream of water into another, or into a lake or sea, but is never taken in the sense of *abir*, as an opening to a river either at its mouth or by its sides. The words

abir and *inbhir* are equally common in the Highlands. *Inbhirniss* has its name from its being situated at the place where the river Ness discharges itself into the sea on the east coast. *Inbhirlochi* gave the name to the place where Fort-William stands, upon the west coast, and where the river *Lochi* falls into the west sea. But in the intermediate space between these rivers, in the ancient Caledonian Forest, *abir* occurs frequently, as *Abir-chaladar*, where the river Caladar falls into Loch Oich; *Abir-tairibh*, where the river Tairibh falls into Lochness; *Abir-chaladar* in Strath-tharaig, on the south side of Lochness, and *Abir-riachan*, on its north side: many instances might be given. A remarkable opening or fo d upon the river Ness, a little below where it issues from Lochness, is called *Ban-a*, that is, *the white opening* or *ford*, the channel of the river presenting there a white sandy or gravelly bottom; *a-an* signifies *a little opening* or *ford*.

GILDAS, the most ancient of our British historians, wrote his history *De Excidio Britanniæ*, or the destruction of Britain, a few years after the evacuation of Britain by the Romans: his epistle was written in 560, twelve years after that memorable period. The Scots and Picts, who had

infested by frequent depredations the provincial Britons, when subject to the Romans, were not to remain idle spectators of the extinction of the Roman government in Britain. "Exin Britan-
"nia omni armato milite, militaribusque copiis,
"rectoribus linquitur immanibus, ingenti juven-
"tute spoliata, (quæ comitata vestigiis supra-
"dicti tyranni domum nusquam ultra rediit) et
"omnes belli usus ignara penitus; duabus pri-
"mum gentibus transmarinis vehementer sævis,
"Scotorum a Circione, Pictorum ab Aquilone
"calcabilis multos stupet gemetque per annos."

The Britons are represented as ignorant of the use of arms, and therefore became an easy prey to the Scots and Picts. It will be observed, that the Scots came *a circione*, from a country lying between the north and west,* and the Picts *ab aquilone* from the north; but they were both transmarine nations. The Britons, it appears, had got assistance from the Romans, who drove the enemy back to their own country: "Et
"omnes e finibus depulit, et subjectos civis tam
"atroci dilaceratione ex imminenti captivitate
"liberavit. Quos jussit constituere inter duo
"maria trans insulam murum; ut esset arcendis
"hostibus turba instructus terrori, civibusque
"tutamini. Qui vulgo irrationabili absque rec-
"tore factus, non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus,
"non profuit."

* "Circio pars inter aquilonem et occidentem." Du Cange.

The provincial Britons having been relieved from this incursion of their enemy, they were ordered to repair the wall across the island between the two seas, in order to afford some security and safety to their own people. The wall proved no security, for as soon as the Roman army had departed to return home, the former enemies of the provincial Britons had invaded their territories both by sea and land, broke through every boundary, and attacking the Britons, like hungry wolves leaping into sheepfolds, plundered and devastated their country. "Illa legione cum triumpho magno et gaudio "domum repetente, illi priores inimici, ac quasi "ambrones lupi profunda fame rabidi, siccis fau-"cibus in ovile transilientes, non comparente "pastore, alis remorum remigumque brachiis, ac "velis vento sinuatis vecti, terminos rumpunt, "cæduntque omnia, et quæque obvia maturam "seu segetem metunt, calcant, transeunt."

The Britons were again relieved by Roman forces. "Igitur Romani patria reversi, denuncti-"antes nequaquam se tam laboriosis expeditioni-"bus posse frequentius vexari, et ob imbelles erra-"ticosque latrunculos, Romana stigmata, tantum "talemque exercitum, terra ac mari fatigari: sed "ut insula potius, consuescendo armis, ac virili-"ter dimicando, terram, substantiolam, conjuges, "liberos, et (quod his majus est) libertatem vi-"tamque totis viribus vindicaret."—"In littore "quoque oceani ad meridianam plagam, qua

" naves eorum habebantur, et inde barbariæ feræ
" bestiæ timebantur, turres per intervalla ad pro-
" spectum maris collocant, valedicunt tanquam
" ultra non reversuri."

The Britons were informed that they might expect no further succour from the Romans against erratic plunderers and robbers; that they must depend upon their own prowess, and arm themselves for their defence; guard themselves by ships, and place towers at intervals in the wall in sight of the sea, whence they feared the barbarous wild beasts were to issue. The Romans bade them farewell, as never again to return.

There is nothing in these passages that indicates the plunderers of the Roman provinces to be any other than the Scots and Picts living to the northward of the Clyde and Forth, and in the countries next adjacent to these arms of the sea, and the wall built between them for a defence against the plundering expeditions of the northern people. " Itaque illis ad sua revertenti-
" bus, emergunt certatim de curucis, quibus sunt
" trans Scythicam vallem evecti (quasi in alto
" titane incalescenteque caumate de arctissimis
" foraminum cavernulis fusci vermiculorum cunei)
" tetri Scotorum Pictorumque greges, moribus ex
" parte dissidentes, et una eademque sanguinis
" fundendi aviditate concordes, furciferosque ma-
" gis vultus pilis, quam corporum pudenda, pu-
" dendisque proxima vestibus tegentes."

"ception. Commerce and intermarriages be-
" came now frequent between the two nations;
" and that chain of predisposing causes was begun
" to be forged, which has since happily united
" them into one kingdom."*

When St Margaret, Malcolm Ceanmore's queen, had occasion to speak to her Scottish subjects, and to the bishops convened in council, she was obliged to make use of an interpreter; the king usually performed that office.† Where did the king learn Gaelic? We answer, in Dunfermline and the neighbouring country. It was the language of the people in all parts of the kingdom to the north of the Forth; it was the vernacular tongue of the bishops: But when the English language came to be established as that of the Court, ignorance of that language was esteemed a mark of rudeness and barbarity; not only churchmen, but all those who held the rank of gentlemen, became necessarily ambitious to acquire a knowledge of it. In the reign of David many monasteries were erected, and became the only reputable seminaries of every sort of learning. In them were educated the pastor and the prelate, the lawyer and the gentleman, and each of those served as a vehicle to spread the language of their English teachers.

* Dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon Dialect, by the Rev. Dr ALEXANDER GEDDES. Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland.

† See TURGOT, Vita S. Marg. apud Bolandum.

"Anno duodecimo Willielmi, Rex Malcolm "venit in Angliam, et prædavit in Northum- "briam usque ad Tinam, et multos thesauros et "homines in vinculis secum duxit. Annal. Wal- "ver, ad an. 1078."

Malcolm ravaged the north of England, and carried much treasure and many English people into Scotland. And Hoveden, a writer of credit who lived in the twelfth century, informs us, that in his time Scotland was so much filled with common people of English extraction, that they were to be seen in every hamlet and cottage in that country. This account is no doubt to be considered as applying to the low country of Scotland. His words are, "Repleta est ergo "Scotia servis et ancillis Anglici generis, ita ut "etiam usque hodie, nulla, non dico villula, sed "nec domuncula sine his valeat invenire. Hove- "den, p. 452. Ed. Francof."

It is evident that the policy of our kings encouraged the introduction into Scotland of Normans, French, English, Flemings, and foreigners of every denomination, who, by superior knowledge of the arts of life, and by the practice of industrious pursuits, were understood to be more calculated to render the land productive, and more disposed to yield submission to regular government than the ancient race of people, whose attachments were more firmly allied to their native chieftains than to the sovereigns of the kingdom. We find, accordingly, that in

what was called the Pictish country, all along the eastern coast of Scotland, to the southward of the royal burgh of Nairn, the English language extended rapidly, while the Gaelic language was preserved only in the mountainous regions on each side of Drumalbinn, and to the northward of the burgh of Nairn, except, as we have mentioned, in the royal burghs of Fortrose, Cromarty, and the level country of Caithness.

The system of feudal tenures having been established, the king was held to be the superior lord, or paramount proprietor, of all the lands within his kingdom; and he came to be considered as the fountain whence flowed all rights to the possession of lands, and with them the distribution of honours. While these strengthened the hands of the sovereign, subinfeudations, and the consequent increase of vassalage, added to the strength of the vassals of the crown, who being bound to obey the king's summons to attend his person in warlike exploits, whether of an offensive or defensive nature, his right as feudal sovereign gave him the command of the whole popular force of his dominions. The Anglo-Saxon favourites must have given a ready obedience to his commands, and greatly facilitated the establishment of the feudal system, while the ancient allodial proprietors, who owned no superior title than that of the sword, yielded with reluctance to the genius of regular feudal submission. It is handed down among the

Highlanders, as a contemptuous saying of one of the Lords of the Isles, that *he put no value upon a right that depended upon the possession of a sheep's skin.* Had that division of Scotland which was possessed by the pastoral people called Scots, been equally susceptible of agricultural improvements as was that portion of it which lies to the south of the Friths of Forth and Clyde, and along the eastern coasts of the country lying to the north of the Frith of Forth to that of Nairn, it is more than probable that the Gaelic language would have been long before the present time totally extinguished, and no trace of it remaining other than in the names of places and mountains, as in other parts of Scotland where the English language only is now known and spoken by the inhabitants: But the nature of a portion of the country was such as to render it inaccessible to strangers; a circumstance which preserved the language of the ancient inhabitants, their manners and customs, their poetry, their barbarous usages, their predatory genius, which never ceased to produce direful feuds and animosities among themselves, and disposed them to harass the regularly industrious inhabitants of the agricultural parts of the country, by committing spoliations of their property, without the hope of the sufferer being able to penetrate into the mountainous recesses of the plunderer, either for the purposes of retaliation or legal punishment. While we accord with Mr

The poet Claudian, the panegyrist of the Emperor Honorius, who died 423, speaks in poetical language of the Roman victories obtained over the Scots and Picts.

" Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
" Quæ Scoto dat frena truci ferroque notatas
" Perlegit exangues Picto moriente figuras."*

The poet in these lines mentions a legion, who came to suppress the incursions of the northern or most distant Britons, and, in poetical language, is described as curbing the fierce Scot, and viewing the pale figure, marked with iron, of the dying Pict. This passage can only apply to the Scots and Picts, who were constantly observed to act together in their incursions into the Roman provinces.

The poet, describing the martial achievements of Stilico, speaks of Ierne in a manner which renders it difficult to ascertain whether he meant the Scots inhabiting North Britain, or those inhabiting Ireland.

——————— " Maduerunt Saxone fuso
" Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule
" Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."†

* CLAUD. de Bello Getico, lib. xxvi. v. 416.
† CL. CLAUDIANI de IV. Cons. Hon. Aug. Paneg. v. 26.

He describes first the Orkney Islands, where the Saxons were routed; then Thule, which is here to be understood a northern country inhabited by the Picts; and next in succession, icy Ierne, weeping heaps of Scots. Whether the poet meant the northern part of Britain beyond the Friths of Clyde and Forth, into which it had been said the native inhabitants had been driven back by the Romans, as into another island, by the words *glacialis Ierne;* or whether he meant the western island Erinn, situated in the Atlantic Ocean, we will not adventure to determine. It may be observed, that however proper the application of the term *glacialis* or *icy* might have been made to the former, it was not an appropriate term to express the soft climate of the latter. That Claudian knew that a people who had got, though recently, the appellation of *Scoti*, were inhabitants of the unsubdued parts of Britain, and also of Ireland, we can hardly call in question. Writing in praise of Stilico he says:

" Me juvit Stilico, totam cum Scotus Iernen
" Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys
" Illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem
" Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore tuto
" Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis."*

* Cl. Claud. de laudibus Stiliconis, lib. ii. v. 246.

If we are to give a literal interpretation to the poet's expression, the inhabitants of all Erinn or Ireland were put in motion, and the number of their oars was so great as to agitate what is now called the Irish Sea into one sheet of foam; so that the Scottish darts were not to be feared, nor the Pict cause terror; and the shores were to be safe from the visit of Saxon rovers.

If by *Ierne* Ireland is here understood, then Claudian knew that there was a people called by the Romans *Scoti* inhabiting Ireland; and it is undoubted, that he knew that there was a people to whom was applied the same appellation, inhabitants of North Britain; and both these people were considered at the time as enemies who had invaded the Roman provinces. The *Scoti* were therefore, as known by that name in the fourth century, native inhabitants of Albinn and of Erinn, for neither of these countries had at that period got the name of *Scotia* or *Scotland*, which last was applied to them by the writers of a later period.

There is abundance of evidence to show that Ireland was called *Scotia*, and that a people called *Scoti* inhabited it in the fourth century, and for some centuries after that period;* but the native Gael of Ireland never in their own tongue knew it by that name, any more than the native Gael of Albinn knew their proper country by the

* See CHALMERS's Account of North Britain, B. ii. ch. 6.

name of *Scotia;* nor did the Gael of either country know the appellation *Scoti* as applicable to their generic race of people. The great Alfred, king of the West Saxons, died in the 900 of the Christian era: in his translation of Orosius he gives the name of Scotland to Erinn. Both Erinn and Albinn were inhabited by a race of people who were called *Scots* by the Anglo-Saxons. In progress of time a distinction was made: the country of the Albinn Scots was by them denominated *Scotland;* the name *Erinn* was converted by them into that of *Ireland*, and its people they called *Irish*.

"As the first inhabitants of Ireland derived "their origin from those of Britain, they gene-"rally, like them, distinguished themselves, from "the remotest periods, by the name of *Cael* or "*Gadhil*. It is true they frequently used other "appellations, arising from their situation and "mode of life; as, their country *Eirinn* or *wes-"tern island*, and themselves *Eirinnach* or *wes-"tern people;* but the name by which they were "best known to foreigners, during the middle "ages, was that of *Scoti* and their country *Scotia;* "as we are assured by Claudian, Isidore, Bede, "Nennius, and most other writers of those pe-"riods. As the Scots are not mentioned in his-"tory until about the middle of the fourth cen-"tury, when in conjunction with the Picts they "invaded the Roman provinces in Britain, several "have concluded they must have been a new

" people at that time in these parts; indeed, who " they were, and from whence they derived their " origin, has been a subject of much contro- " versy in the learned world. Some, from the " assertions of Radulphus de Diceto, Reinerus, " and others, have imagined them Scyths, from " Scandinavia; others again have maintained that " the ancient inhabitants of Ireland were called " *Scots*, from dwelling in a country covered with " clouds and mists; the Irish antiquaries them- " selves generally derive them from Spain, Car- " thage, Phœnicia, or Egypt. But without enu- " merating all the wild extravagant stories of " different authors, relative to this subject, we " shall only observe, that the words *Cithæ*, *Cite*, " *Cuite*, and *Scyth*, in the ancient Celtic tongue, " signifies *a wanderer*; from whence *Scithæ*, " *Scitæ*, *Scuitæ*, and *Scotæ*, *a race of wanderers*, " or who havē no fixed habitation. About the " beginning of the fourth century the ancient " Irish, in wicker boats covered with skins, " called *curraghs*, infested the coasts of Britain, " then belonging to the Romans. These boats " being made narrow at the ends, like an Indian " canoe, obtained among the Romans and Latins " of the middle ages the name of *Sagittarii* or " *Darters*, from the swift manner in which they " sailed; and the mariners who navigated them " were generally distinguished by the names of " *Scuitæ* or *Scythæ*, that is, *wanderers*, from their " roving from place to place in search of plun-

"der; whence the Hibernian pirates were in "general by the Romans called *Scoti*, which, "during the middle ages, came to be applied to "all the inhabitants of this country; and the "island in consequence thereof obtained the "name of *Scotia*. Richard of Cirencester, speak- "ing of the maritime tribes of Ireland, as given "by Ptolemy and others, observes, that all the "interior parts of the island were inhabited by "the Scots, though he doth not seem to know "from whence they obtained that name; but as "the Hibernian pirates had obtained from the "Romans the name of *Scoti*, from their piratical "course of life, so the internal inhabitants, to- "wards the close of the middle age, obtained "that appellation from the Britons, by reason of "their adhering to the perambulatory and pas- "toral life of their ancestors, several centuries "after the Britons had received agriculture, and "other arts of civil life, but even after the mari- "time coasts of their own country, by the com- "merce of foreign merchants, had obtained per- "manent habitations."—"Nay, even so late as "the seventeenth century, we find, after the re- "bellion in 1641, several wandering clans of the "natives, under the denomination of *creaghs* or "*herdsmen*, overrunning the country with their "numerous flocks, so much to the prejudice of "the English settlers, that they were obliged to "be restrained by public authority. From these "circumstances it is apparent, that the ancient

"inhabitants of Ireland obtained the name of "*Scots* during the middle ages, from their occupation and mode of life, which they retained "until agriculture, the arts of civil life, and increase of population, about the tenth century, "had in some measure confined their residence "to particular spots."*

Those of the inhabitants of Ireland who had obtained permanent habitations upon the maritime coasts of the country, were known in Ireland as in Scotland by the name of *Draonaich*, or *Craonich*, as spelt by Keating. As the Scots were held by the Irish antiquaries to be an ancient colony honoured by an illustrious descent, the Cruithnaich, who were supposed to be a different colony, were not to remain destitute of claim to the veneration due to remote antiquity. "The "next colony recorded in the Irish history is "said to be the *Cruiti* or *Cruitni*, or *Peacti*. "*As a bhf hlathamhnas Eiremoin tangudur Cruitnith no Peacti, sluagh do threall on Tracia go "Eirinn*; i. e. *in the reign of Eremon the Cruitni "or Peacti migrated from Thrace to Ireland*;" to which Keating adds, "According to the Psalter "of Cashel, written by Cormac, the reason of "this migration was, that Polycernus, the tyrant "and king of Thrace, resolved to seize upon the

* Collectánea de Rebus Hibernicis, vol. ii. p. 225. Dissertation on the Origin and Language of the Irish, and of the Learning of the Druids, by WILLIAM BEAUFORD, A.M.

" only daughter of Gud, a chief of the Peacti. " Herodotus places the Pactyæ and Crithoti in " Thracia Chersonesus."—" These Peacti or Pac- " tiæ are not the Picti or woad-painted Britons " (the Welsh) described by Cæsar. They are " distinguished by the Scots by the name of " *Peacti*, a word that sounds exactly the same as " *Pactyæ*."* The Irish called the Picts *Cruithnigh;* and *Cruithin Tuaith* was, according to Keating, the old Irish name of the country of the Picts.†

It is an established fact, that those inhabitants of Ireland, who had abandoned the ambulatory life of the Scuit or Scoti, and had betaken themselves to agricultural pursuits upon the coasts of the island, were by the Gael of Ireland distinguished by the name of *Craonich*, as spelt by Keating, more properly *Draonich*. " The Cruithne of " Ireland, like their progenitors during the Ro- " man period, had engaged, meantime, in fre- " quent enterprizes against the opposite coasts of " North Britain, though without much success. " And it was not till the end of the eighth cen- " tury, that the Cruithne made a more successful " attempt, near the Rims of Galloway, on the " westward, when the British Novantes had been " weakened by the domination of the Northum- " brian power. Here the Ulster-Irish com-

* Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. Preface, vol. iv.

† LHUYD's Archæologia, *voce* Cruithnigh.

"menced a settlement. And to this commo-
"dious shore they were successively followed
"by fresh swarms from the Irish hive, during
"the ninth and tenth centuries, while the Dan-
"ish sea kings insulted the sacred island. And
"the Cruithne were joined, in their new settle-
"ments, by the kindred Scots of Kintire; who,
"crossing the Clyde in their currachs, had set-
"tled on the opposite shores of Cunningham
"and Kyle.

"It is more than probable that the Irish
"Cruithne, who thus colonized the ancient
"country of the Novantes and Selgovæ, com-
"municated to the Irish settlers there, the name
"of *Picts*, as we see it in the chronicles of the
"eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Irish
"colonists were denominated *Cruithne* in their
"native land, (*Cruithneach*, in the Irish speech,
"signifying *Picts*); and it was as natural for
"those settlers to call themselves, and to be
"called by others, by the translated name of
"*Picts*, as it was easy for ignorant chroniclers
"to transfer to the Gaelic settlers from Ireland
"and Kintire, the well known name of the ge-
"nuine Picts of North Britain. The fact carries
"up conjecture to probability. It was undoubt-
"edly owing to all those Gaelic colonists within
"this vast peninsula, that the new colony ob-
"tained, in recent times, the characteristic name
"of *Galtwallia, Gallowidia, Gallowagia, Galtwa-
"dia, Galtwegia, Galtway, Galloway.* The name

" of *Galloway* is not mentioned by Bede, though " he knew the country; it is not noticed by the " bishop of Caithness, when he wrote expressly " *De Situ Albaniæ*, as we learn from the docu- " ments in Innes's Critical Essay; and the first " authentic notice of this name is in earl David's " charter to the monks of Selkirk, before he ac- " quired the crown in 1124. From all those in- " timations we may conclude, that this great " peninsula did not obtain the name of *Galweia* " or *Galloway*, till some time after the com- " mencement of the Scottish period."*

It is not mentioned, or even a hint given by any author, that the Craonich of Ireland, or the maritime people and the cultivators of the soil, spoke a different language from that of the Scoti or pastoral people, who lived in the woods and wilds of the interior country.

The Picts received the Christian faith from St Columba: Adamnan, his biographer, gives account of his frequent intercourse with King Brude and his subjects, near the mouth of the river Ness. He conversed with the king and his subjects with freedom and ease; and it appears that in two instances he spoke to two individual persons by an interpreter; a circumstance which clearly demonstrates that he was perfectly well understood by the body of the people. One of these instances happened when

* CHALMERS' Caledonia. Vol. i. b. iii. c. 5. § 3.

he was in the country of the Picts, the other in one of the Western Islands called *Scotia*, probably the island of Skye. "Illo in tempore, "quo S. Columba in Pictorum provincia per "aliquot demorabatur dies, quidam cum tota "plebeius familia verbum vitæ per interpretato- "rem Sancto prædicante viro audiens, credensque "baptizatus est, maritus cum marita, liberisque et "familiaribus."* The individual here mentioned came, with his wife, family and servants, to see St Columba: he found the saint engaged in prayer, the substance of which was communicated to him by an interpreter; he became a believer, and he and his whole family received Christian baptism. This particular instance could not have been recorded, if the Pictish people had been universally or commonly obliged to have recourse to interpreters, in communicating the saint's prayers and discourses to them. But it is evident, that in his communication with King Brude and his subjects he had no occasion to use interpreters. St Columba and Brochanus, a Druid at Brude's court, called by Adamnan *Magus*, spoke together with ease and fluency in King Brude's presence, and carried on disputations as persons understanding each other without the aid of any interpreter. Several instances of their interviews are recorded by Adamnan.

* Lib. ii. c. 20.

St Columba having sent Cormacus, *Christi miles*, upon a religious mission to the North Seas, had occasion to see at the court of King Brude a prince of the Orkneys: he entreated that King Brude would strongly recommend to that prince, the king having hostages of his at that time in his hands, to take under his protection Cormacus and his associates, who in the course of their progress might have occasion to visit the islands of Orkney. "Alio in tempore Cormacus Christi "miles, conatus est heremum in oceano quærere, "qui postquam a terris infinitum oceanum planis "enavigavit velis. Iisdem diebus Sanctus Co- "lumba cum ultra dorsum moraretur Britanniæ "Brudeo rege presente *Ordacum* regulo commen- "davit, dicens: Aliqui ex nostris nuper emigra- "verunt, desertum in pelago intransmeabili in- "venire optantes, qui si forte post longos circui- "tus Orcadas devenerint insulas, huic regulo cu- "jus obsides in manu tua sunt, diligenter com- "menda; ne aliquid adversi intra terminos ejus "contra eos fiat. Quod ita postea evenit, et prop- "ter supra dictam sancti viri commendationem "de morte in Orcadibus liberatus est vicina."*

This recommendation had effect; and afterwards it appeared that Cormacus owed his safety to that prince's protection. St Columba addressed himself directly to King Brude, in presence

* Lib. ii. c. 28.

of the Orkney prince, and in language perfectly intelligible to the Pictish king.

The only other instance in which an interpreter is mentioned, is in the case of a stranger who appeared on the west coast, perhaps a Roman officer, here called *primarius cohortis*. "Navi-" cula ad eundem supervenit portum, cujus in "prora quidem advectus est decrepitus senex "Gione primarius cohortis, quem bini juvenes "de navi sublevantes, ante beati viri conspectum "deponunt. Qui statim verbo Dei a sancto *per* "*interpretem* recepto credens, ab eodem baptiza-"tus est."* It appears then, that the interposition of an interpreter was a remarkable circumstance, and as such was recorded.

It appears, that the inhabitants of Galloway were addressed in the charters of our kings, granted in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as distinguished from the French, English, and Scots inhabitants of the kingdom of Scotland. It is evident, however, that they were Gael, from two charters described by Mr Robertson, in his Index of Charters granted by King Robert II. in the following terms: "Carta, con-"firming a charter by Thomas Flemyng, formerly "(*alias*) Earl of Wygtoun, to Archibald de Doug-"las, Knight, *Domino Galwydie ex orientali parte* "*aque de Creth*, of the earldom of Wygtoun, in "consideration of a large sum of money; the said

* Lib. i. c. 19.

" Thomas having been induced to sell it on ac-
" count of grievous feuds that had arisen between
" him and the more powerful of the ancient indi-
" genous inhabitants of the earldom, (majores *indi-*
" *genas* comitatus predicti). The original charter
" is dated at Edynburgh, the 8th of February
" 1371-2." The name demonstrates that Robert Flemyng was a foreigner, to whom the more powerful of the ancient indigenous inhabitants were not disposed to yield obedience, or to acknowledge as their chief or leader in warlike contention. Who were these indigenous inhabitants? The question is solved by a charter " confirming
" a charter of confirmation by King Alexander II.
" of a grant by Neil, Earl of Carryk, to Roland de
" Carryk and his heirs, constituting them head
" of their tribe or clan, (*progeniei sue*), in all
" matters pertaining to the *Kenkinoll* (tam in
" calumpniis quam aliis articulis et negotiis ad
" Kenkynol pertinere valentibus,) with the office
" of bailliary of the foresaid country, (Carryk),
" and of leading the men thereof under the Earl.
" King Alexander's charter is dated at Strivelyne,
" the 20th of January, in the 27th year of his
" reign."* Alexander II. died in the year 1249.

Cinneal signifies *race* or *lineage*, and *cenncinneal*, or *ceanncinneadh*, *the head* or *chief of the race* or *kindred*.

* Robertson's Index of Charters, p. 134-5-6.

At the times when these charters were granted, the people of Galloway were regulated by the ideas of Gaelic tribes; their minds were not as yet impressed with the notions derived from strict feudal vassalage; and, although the power of a chief among the Gael was in effect similar to that of a feudal lord, the right of succession to the exercise of the power depended upon the will of the tribe, by the rules of the law of Tanistry; for such was the law of the Gael of Albinn, as well as of those of Erinn. Feudal investiture was unknown. The sway of a stranger the Gael could not tolerate with patience, but to the person of their own kindred whom they deemed most worthy of command, they yielded a heartfelt submission, and defended his authority with the eagerness of resolute bravery. The Flemyng found it to be a matter of prudence to convey his feudal right for a pecuniary consideration to a native chieftain of Galloway; and which right acquired additional stability by a feudal confirmation made by the supreme authority of the Crown. In progress of time, the manners, customs, and language of the inhabitants of Galloway, gave way to those of their southern neighbours, as feudal investitures, and the introduction of strangers, prevailed among them, as in all other parts of the low country of the kingdom of Scotland.

OBSERVATIONS

RESPECTING THE AUTHENTICITY

OF THE

POEMS OF OSSIAN.

THE publication of a genuine translation of poems ascribed to a bard living fourteen hundred years back, among a barbarous unlettered people, was a phenomenon which struck with surprise the minds of men eminently enlightened by science and philosophy. The translation was by many of them held to be a palpable and most impudent forgery. This opinion was not made a matter of secresy or concealment; it was divulged in the common conversation of the learned, and was naturally treated with that reprobation which was called forth by literary imposture. What was the conduct of the translator? Instead of using those means which he had in his power, of obviating the scruples, the doubts, the avowed disbelief, which arose from so strange a phenomenon, he treated the opinions of the learned with sullen contempt; he disregarded the obloquy thrown upon his character; and seemed little solicitous to prove himself to the world a

man of candour and veracity. His mistaken pride, and rude stubbornness, forced from an illustrious person, as amiable in social life as he was great in the literary world, the following expressions:*

"I am very glad you have undertaken the task "which I used the freedom to recommend to you. "Nothing less than what you propose will serve "the purpose. You need expect no assistance "from Macpherson, who flew into a passion when "I told him of the letter I had wrote to you: "But you must not mind so strange and hetero-"clite a mortal, than whom I have scarce ever "known a man more perverse and unamiable. "He will probably depart for Florida with Go-"vernor Johnstone; and I would advise him to "travel among the Chickisaws or Cherokees, in "order to tame him and civilize him."

Mr Hume having taken a strong interest in ascertaining the truth respecting the poems ascribed to Ossian, had previously written to Dr Blair upon the subject of these poems, suggesting the means by which their authenticity might be established, independently of the translator, from whom no aid was to be expected in obviating the doubts entertained upon that subject.

* DAVID HUME's Letter to Dr BLAIR, dated from London, 6th October 1763. Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland.

" *Lisle-street, Leicester Fields,*
19th September 1761.

" DEAR SIR,—I live in a place where I have " the pleasure of frequently hearing justice done " to your Dissertation, but never heard it men- " tioned in a company, where some one person " or other did not express his doubts with regard " to the authenticity of the poems which are its " subject; and I often hear them totally rejected, " with disdain and indignation, as a palpable and " most impudent forgery. This opinion has in- " deed become very prevalent among the men of " letters in London; and I can foresee, that in a " few years the poems, if they continue to stand " on their present footing, will be thrown aside, " and will fall into final oblivion. It is in vain " to say that their beauty will support them, " independent of their authenticity. No; that " beauty is not so much to the general taste as " to ensure you of this event; and if people be " once disgusted with the idea of a forgery, they " are thence apt to entertain a more disadvanta- " geous notion of the excellency of the produc- " tion itself. The absurd pride and caprice of " Macpherson himself, who scorns, as he pre- " tends, to satisfy any body that doubts his vera- " city, has tended much to confirm this general " scepticism; and I must own, for my own part, " that though I have had many particular rea- " sons to believe these poems genuine, more than

" it is possible for any Englishman of letters to " have, yet I am not entirely without my scru- " ples on that head. You think that the internal " proofs in favour of the poems are very convinc- " ing: So they are; but there are also internal " reasons against them, particularly from the man- " ners, notwithstanding all the art with which " you have endeavoured to throw a varnish on " that circumstance: And the preservation of " such long and such connected poems, by oral " tradition alone, during a course of fourteen " centuries, is so much out of the ordinary course " of human affairs, that it requires the strongest " reasons to make us believe it. My present " purpose therefore is, to apply to you, in the " name of all the men of letters of this, and I " may say of all other countries, to establish this " capital point, and to give us proofs that these " poems are, I do not say so ancient as the age " of Severus, but that they were not forged " within these five years by James Macpherson. " These proofs must not be arguments, but testi- " monies: People's ears are fortified against the " former; the latter may yet find their way be- " fore the poems are consigned to total oblivion.

" But the chief point in which it will be ne- " cessary for you to exert yourself will be, to get " positive testimony from many different hands, " that such poems are vulgarly recited in the " Highlands, and have there long been the enter- " tainment of the people. This testimony must

" be as particular as it is positive. It will not be " sufficient that a Highland gentleman or clergy- " man say or write to you that he has heard such " poems: nobody questions that there are tradi- " tional poems in that part of the country, where " the names of Ossian and Fingal, and Oscar and " Gaul, are mentioned in every stanza; the only " doubt is, whether these poems have any farther " resemblance to the poems published by Mac- " pherson. I was told by Burke, a very ingenious " Irish gentleman, the author of a tract on the " Sublime and Beautiful, that on the first publi- " cation of Macpherson's book all the Irish cried " out, *We know all those poems; we have always* " *heard them from our infancy*: but when he ask- " ed more particular questions, he could never " learn that any one had ever heard or could re- " peat the original of any one paragraph of the " pretended translation. This generality, then, " must be carefully guarded against, as being of " no authority.

" Your connexions among your brethren of the " clergy may here be of great use to you. You " may easily learn the names of all ministers of " that country who understand the language of " it. You may write to them, expressing the " doubts that have arisen, and desiring them to " send for such of the bards as remain, and make " them rehearse their ancient poems. Let the " clergymen then have the translation in their " hands, and let them write back to you, and in-

"form you that they heard such a one (naming "him), living in such a place, rehearse the ori- "ginal of such a passage, from such a page to "such a page of the English translation, which "appeared exact and faithful. If you give to "the public a sufficient number of such testi- "monies, you may prevail: But I venture to "foretel to you, that nothing less will serve the "purpose; nothing less will so much as com- "mand the attention of the public."

Dr Blair, who was a thorough believer in the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, lost no time in complying with the measures recommended by his celebrated friend. He wrote to several of his brethren of the clergy in the Highlands and Isles, whom he thought best qualified to return special and correct answers, applicable to the questions suggested in Mr Hume's letter. The answers to Dr Blair's letters will be found in the Report of the Highland Society of Scotland, drawn up with that candour and ability which were to be expected from the character and talents of the Society's convener or chairman at the time.* We shall only take notice of certain passages in these letters, written in answer to Dr Blair's queries, which we deem to be most important in removing the doubts entertained respecting the authenticity of the poems in question.

* Henry Mackenzie, Esq.

The first testimony we shall quote, in answer to Dr Blair's inquiries, is a letter of the learned and highly respected Dr John Macpherson, minister of Sleat, in the Island of Skye, dated 27th November 1763.*

"I have, in obedience to your request, made "inquiry for all the persons around me who "were able to rehearse from memory any parts "of the poems published by Mr Macpherson, "and have made them to rehearse, in my hear-"ing, the several fragments or detached pieces "of these poems which they were able to repeat. "This done, I compared with great care the "pieces rehearsed by them with Mr Macpher-"son's translation. These pieces, or fragments, "are as follows:—

"The Description of Cuchullin's Chariot; Fin-"gal, Book 1st, page 11. The rehearsers are, "John Macdonald of Breackish, in Strath, Isle "of Skye, gentleman; Martin Macilivray, te-"nant in Slate; and Allan Macaskle, farmer in "Glenelg.

"The Episode relating to Faineasolis; Fingal, "Book 3d, page 45. The rehearsers are, among "many more, John Macdonald of Breackish; "Alexander Maedonald, merchant in Slate; John "Down, cow-herd there; and John Maclean, "carpenter in the parish of Strath.

* Report of the Highland Society of Scotland. Appendix, p. 11.

" The actions of Ossian at the lake of Lego, and " his courtship of Everallin; Fingal, Book 4th, " page 50. The rehearsers are, Alexander Mac- " donald, merchant in Slate; Nicol Mackenzie, " in the parish of Strath, gentleman; and Ewen " Macpherson, schoolmaster in Glenelg.

" Fingal's combat with the King of Lochlin; " Fingal, Book 5th, page 62. The rehearsers, " Alexander Macdonald, merchant in Slate; " Donald Robertson, tenant there; and Nicol " Mackenzie just mentioned, together with many " more.

" The Battle of Lora; page 111. The rehear- " sers, Alexander Macdonald, merchant in Slate; " John Maclean, carpenter in Strath; and Niel " Mackinnon, farmer there.

" Darthula; page 155. The rehearsers, Alex- " ander Morison, in the parish of Duirnish, gen- " tleman; Ewen Macpherson, schoolmaster in " Glenelg; and John Down, cow-herd in Slate.

" The combat between Oscar and Ullin, in the " Fragments. The rehearsers, John Macdonald " of Breackish, Alexander Morison, and John " Down, all three above-mentioned.

" The Lamentation of the Spouse of Dargo. " Sung by thousands in the Isles.

" These are all the pieces of Ossian's poems, as " published by Mr Macpherson, known to the " rehearsers whom I have had occasion to con- " sult. Had it been in my power to have travell- " ed farther than through my own parish, and

"that next to it, I have reason to believe that I "would have easily found many more such upon "record, in the memories of others who have a "taste for our old Gaelic compositions. The re- "hearsers whom I had occasion to consult, have "repeated, in my hearing, several other poems "which have much of the spirit and manner of "Ossian, and are consequently the genuine pro- "ductions of his muse, or, what is much the same, "authentic monuments of that uncommon genius "for poetry which once prevailed among our coun- "trymen of ancient times. This, give me leave "to say so, you may take upon my word; nor "shall I scruple to affirm, that some of these re- "mains or monuments of genius are equal, as far "as they go, to any thing that Mr Macpherson "has yet published. If so, the literary world "should do that gentleman the justice to believe, "that he is not himself the real author of the com- "positions he has ascribed to Ossian; or should "allow that the Highlands have heretofore pro- "duced bards of a character not less exalted than "that of which Ossian was possessed, according "to Mr Macpherson's account of him.

"You desire me to tell impartially, how far the "translations given by the publisher of Ossian's "works agree with the original, as far as I have "had occasion to see or hear the latter.

"It is, I think, no easy matter to lay down an "exact system of rules which a translator should "inviolably observe, especially when the work

" in which he is engaged is of the poetical kind:
" Far less is it easy for a critic, a critic abler be-
" yond comparison than I, to determine, whether
" Mr Macpherson has taken unpardonable liber-
" ties in his version; unless that critic should
" have a number of manuscripts, or one at least,
" before him. The oral editions given by the
" several persons who have rehearsed the very
" same parts of Ossian's poems in my presence,
" are far from being exactly the same. Some of
" these rehearsers omitted several whole stanzas,
" which others repeated before me. Some of
" them inverted the order of whole sentences,
" and whole stanzas. Others differed greatly
" from the rest in the expression, here and there
" in the sentiments, in the versification, in the
" names of the heroes, and scenes of action; and
" that, too, without doing any considerable hurt
" to the merit of the poem, all things consider-
" ed.

" Those who are ready to believe that Mr Mac-
" pherson has given his translation of Ossian's
" works from an ancient manuscript, cannot pre-
" tend to determine that his version is too free,
" too incorrect, or faulty in any respect, until
" they are able to compare it with the original
" contained in that manuscript. But those who
" suppose, or may think, that Mr Macpherson
" was at the pains to consult several different re-
" hearsers, and to compare their various editions,
" must suppose, and think at the same time, that

"he had an undoubted right, like every editor "who collates several different manuscripts, to "depart from the words of this or that edition, "when he saw good reason for so doing; to pre-"fer the diction, sentiments, versification, and "order of one, to those of another; nay, and to "throw a conjectural emendation now and then "into his version, when he found the original "text corrupted by all the rehearsers.

"This being admitted, I shall make no diffi-"culty of thinking that the editor of Ossian's "works has translated those parts of the original "which were repeated in my hearing, I will not "say with a servile exactness, but upon the "whole inimitably well. I add farther, that he "has turned some of the detached pieces, so fre-"quently repeated in this part of the country, "from the Gaelic into English, as literally as he "ought to have done. Meantime, I can hardly "hinder myself from believing, that the original "Gaelic stanzas of some poems, rendered into "English by him, are, in not a few instances, "rather better than those corresponding with "them in the translation, however masterly that "undoubtedly is."

Mr Angus Mac Neil, minister of Hovemore, dated Hovemore in South-Uist, 23d December 1763, writes to Dr Blair:*—"In answer, then, to "your inquiries, please know, that though I do

* Appendix, p. 18, 19, 20.

" not remember to have seen any manuscripts, or
" written copies of the original of any of these
" poems myself, yet the elder Clanranald declar-
" ed, before another clergyman and myself, that
" he had himself transcribed above one hundred
" pages of a large ancient manuscript which treat-
" ed of the wars of Fingal, and Comhal, his fa-
" ther: which manuscript has been carried over
" to Ireland, some time ago, by a worthless per-
" son, in a clandestine manner, and is now, it is
" thought, irrecoverably lost; but the transcript,
" he directed Mr Macpherson, when on his tour
" through the Highlands, to recover out of the
" hands of one Donald M'Donald, late merchant
" in the Luckenbooths, Edinburgh, who had got
" it, though not from Clanranald, with a view to
" publish it along with some other Gaelic pieces.

" Mr M'Donald of Demisdale, a parishioner of
" mine, declared before me, that he remembers
" to have seen and read a considerable part of
" the said ancient manuscript, and rehearsed
" from memory, before me, some passages of it
" that agreed exactly with the translation, viz.
" the terms of peace proposed by Morla, in Swa-
" ran's name, to Cuchullin; Fing. Book ii. p. 26.
" Likewise, Fingal's orders for raising his stan-
" dards, his orders to his chiefs before the battle,
" the chiefs' resolutions thereupon, of fighting
" each of them a Lochlin chief; contained in
" pages 57 and 58 of Fingal, Book iv. He con-
" cluded with rehearsing the description of the

"single combat between Fingal and Swaran, "which, in the original, is expressed in the "strongest language, and perfectly agreed with "the translation, which is very just here, and in "all the other places I had occasion to compare. "The passage alluded to is, Fingal, Book v. page "62.

"The next I examined was one Archibald "M'Lellan, likewise a parishioner of mine, who "repeated before me, in Gaelic, Ossian's account "of his own courtship of Everallin at the lake "of Lego, without any material variation from "the translation; Fingal, Book iv. pages 49, 50, "and 51.

"Neil M'Murrich, a native of this country, "who, with his predecessors, for nineteen gene- "rations back, have been the bards and historians "of the family of Clanranald, (it being customa- "ry with every Highland family of note to have "bards and historians of old), repeated before me "the whole of the poem of Darthula, or Clan- "Usnoch, with few variations from the transla- "tion, which he declared he saw and read, to- "gether with many more, in a manuscript which "underwent the same fate with the manuscript "already made mention of. Declared also, that "he is of opinion the last poem in the collection, "Berrathon, is contained in a manuscript which "I myself saw him deliver, with three or four "more, to Mr Macpherson, when he was in this "country, and for which Mr Macpherson gave

"him a missive, obliging himself to restore it;
"which shows that, in the opinion of both, the
"manuscript contained something of great im-
"portance."

Mr Niel Macleod, minister of Ross, dated Ross in Mull, 22d January 1764, writes in answer to Dr Blair:*—"I examined all the persons in "this or the other parishes in Mull, who have "any poems in Gaelic of Fingal, or his heroes. "There are still a great many of them handed "down by tradition; but they are of that kind "that Mr Macpherson, I think judiciously, re-"jects, as Irish imitations of the works of Ossian. "One Angus Fletcher, a sheriff-officer, was here "about two days ago at my desire: he can repeat "many of these poems, but none of those Mr "Macpherson has translated, except a part of "the poem entitled, The Battle of Lora, and that "very much corrupted. But from my own me-"mory I can assure you, that Morla's proposal "to Cuchullin, Fingal, B. ii. p. 26, with Cuchul-"lin's answer, and Morla's reply, is a just trans-"lation. So is the whole episode of Borbar and "Faineasolis, Fingal, B. iii. p. 45 and 46, and "Fingal, B. iv. p. 57 and 58, from "we reared "the sun-beams," &c. to "now like a hundred "different winds." I can still repeat some of "these in the original. The whole poem of Dar-"thula I have frequently heard, but I remember

* Appendix, p. 21, 22.

"no part of it. All these, and many more, I "heard in the Island of Skye, when I was a little "boy, from an old man, who used to repeat them "to me for some tobacco, which I procured him "as often as I wanted to hear them. This man "died when I was but very young, and I could "never since meet with any person that could "repeat so many of the poems of Ossian, or so "perfectly."

Mr Alexander Mac Aulay, dated Edinburgh, 25th January 1764, writes to Dr Blair:*—"I "wrote as you desired me, to Lieut. Duncan "Mac Nicol, of the late 88th Regiment; I re-"ceived his answer, and now send you as much "of it as relates to the subject of your present "inquiry.

"I was from home when yours of the 17th "ultimo came to this place, (Sockroek in Glen-"urchy); but, since my return, I have been at "some pains in examining severals in this coun-"try about Ossian's poems, and have found out "as follows: Fingal, B. iii. p. 45. "Oscar I was "young like thee, when lovely Faineasollis," &c. "to the end of the third book. Fing. B. iv. "p. 50. "Eight were the heroes of Ossian," &c. "mostly word for word to p. 58, or the end of "the fourth book. The story of Orla, in the "beginning of the fifth book, to p. 71.—"Then "Gaul and Ossian sat on the green banks of

* Appendix, p. 23, 24.

" Lubar;" the battle of Lora mostly; Darthula, " p. 155, pretty well to the end of p. 171.; Te- " mora, much the same, p. 172 to the end of " p. 190; Caric-Thura, p. 207, " Who can reach " the source of thy race, O Connal?" &c. till " you come to the passage that begins thus: " Dire was the clang of their steel."

" Those that know most about the history of " Ossian and his poems in this country, are now " *no more;* formerly I might, I dare say, make " out a great deal more among them. At this " very day there are many in this country, who " can neither read nor write, that can repeat " poems composed by Ossian, at least pretty " much in the same strain, which would make a " larger volume, if they were all gathered to- " gether, than that which Mr Macpherson has " given to the public. The world may say of " him and his translations what they please, but " I am convinced, for my part, that I heard most " of these poems repeated, since I remember any " thing at all; and I dare say, at that time, Mr " Macpherson could neither read nor write, far " less be the author of such a work.

(Signed) " Dun. Mac Nicol."

Mr Mac Aulay adds, " Your acquaintance, " Mr Fraser, received a letter from Mr Mac " Lagan, preacher at Amalrie, in which he men- " tions some detached pieces he transmitted to " Mr Macpherson, the translator, particularly

"several passages in the two last books of Fin-
"gal. The poem, called Erragon, or Lora, al-
"most entire, and a poem which bears some re-
"semblance to the opening of Temora. I told
"you formerly that I saw the originals which
"Mr Macpherson collected in the Highlands.
"Mr Fraser will assure you that he saw them
"likewise, and was frequently present with Mr
"Macpherson when he was translating them:
"and no man will say that he could impose his
"own originals upon us, if we had common
"sense, and a knowledge of our mother tongue."

Mr Donald Macleod, minister of Glenelg, dated Glenelg, 26th March 1764, writes to Dr Blair:*—

"It was in my house that Mr Macpherson got
"the description of Cuchullin's horses and car,
"in Book 1st, p. 11. from Allan Mac Caskle,
"schoolmaster, and Rory Macleod, both of this
"glen. He has not taken in the whole of the
"description; and his translation of it, (spirited
"and pretty as it appears, as far as it goes), falls
"so far short of the original in the picture it ex-
"hibits of Cuchullin's horses and car, their har-
"ness and trappings, &c. that in none of his
"translations is the inequality of Macpherson's
"genius to that of Ossian so very conspicuous.

"I have heard the poem, in Book 3d, relating
"Fingal's voyage to Lochlin, the snares laid
"for him by Starno, death of Agandecca, how

* Appendix, p. 29, 30, 31.

" for his cruelty and perfidiousness he took im-
" mediate revenge on Starno, when, p. 38. he
" eyed his valiant chiefs, his valiant chiefs took
" arms.

" The poem in Book the 4th is handed down
" pretty entire in this country, in which each of
" Fingal's chiefs singles out the chief among the
" enemy he was to fight, leaving to Fingal the
" honour of engaging the king of Lochlin. The
" description of the sun-beam, Fingal's standard,
" does not come up to the beauty and spirit of
" the original. Along with that of the sun-beam,
" there is in the original a particular description
" of the standards of the seven principal chiefs
" of Fingal, which are all so inimitably beautiful,
" that I cannot imagine how Macpherson has
" omitted them in his translation. Dermod, who
" led the right hand of the army to that battle,
" (as it is expressed in the original), had a stan-
" dard which, in magnificence, far exceeded the
" sun-beam. He is, by the tradition of this coun-
" try, said to be the predecessor of the Campbells.

" We have the poem containing the battle of
" Lochlego, and a good part of that relating the
" war of Inis-thona, in page 104.

" It would take up too much room, and I think
" it is not necessary, that I go through all the
" poems in the collection, of which we have
" pieces joined to other poems, and sometimes
" parts of two or three poems thrown together
" into one.

" Mr Macpherson, in his journey through the " Highlands, put it upon me to look out for the " poem called Cath, or the battle of Benedin. " I have since got it, but not till after the book " was published. The battle is the most memo- " rable of Fingal's exploits; and, I humbly think, " the poem is the most finished of Ossian's works.'

" Upon the whole, I know not any capable of " doing that justice to the original, which Mr " Macpherson has done. One thing I am sorry " for, his having omitted the description which " Ossian gives of Fingal's ships, their sails, masts, " and rigging, their extraordinary feats in sail- " ing, the skill and dexterity of his men in work- " ing them, and their intrepidity in the greatest " storms,—of which he gives the most striking " description. I can account for it no other way " than his having been born in Badenoch, one of " the most inland parts of this kingdom, where " not having access to be acquainted with that " kind of imagery, he did not therefore perhaps " understand the original poems.

" But the most effectual method, I presume, of " satisfying the doubts of the gentlemen who " deny Highlanders the honour of these monu- " ments of the genius and prowess of their an- " cestors, is to invite them to the Highlands, " and to bring interpreters along with them, that " they may examine the matter themselves. You " may assure them of a hospitable reception; and " wherever they go to, the gentlemen and cler-

"gy will find out to them the old men who still "have in memory most of the works of Ossian, "and the traditionary history of the Fingalians. "I would engage that they should return home "sufficiently satisfied, that these poems belong "to the time and country to which they are "ascribed."

The evidence of the respectable clergymen, whose testimony is recited above, is sufficient to satisfy every mind divested of prejudice, that in the years 1763 and 1764, there existed in the Highlands and Isles, in their neighbourhood, many persons then living, who were capable to rehearse, and did rehearse in their presence, considerable portions of the poems of Ossian, which were found, when compared with the translation of these poems, as exhibited to the public by Mr Macpherson, to agree with his translation; in a manner which unequivocally demonstrates, that he could not be considered in any other light, than as a compiler or translator of those poems which he found in manuscripts in the Highlands and Isles, or rehearsed as the compositions of Ossian, held to be, for ages unnumbered, the most illustrious poet of the Gael of Albinn. But these poems were soon to experience the fate of the rehearsers, who are represented as old men: they were to die with them; whose race may perhaps have been propagated by the instincts of nature, but the poetry of Ossian was no longer to be the emulation of youth to ac-

quire, the delight of old age to retain or hear rehearsed. The poems of Ossian expired with the spirit which kept them alive: Ease and idleness were incompatible with those pursuits of industry, which the establishment of civil law and regular polity introduced among the people. A variety of concurring causes combined to extinguish a taste for those poetic effusions, which animated the breasts of a warlike people, and served to fill up their time with those delightful emotions, which their poetry was calculated to produce: They were never visited by those hours of irksome leisure or vacant repose, which mankind, who are abundantly favoured with the goods of fortune, experience in the circles of frivolous amusement, and luxurious indulgence of refined society.

The manner in which the compositions were preserved from age to age, is clearly explained by many respectable persons, whose testimonies are recorded in the Report of the Highland Society of Scotland, and luminously stated in the Dissertation written by Sir John Sinclair, who never fails to take a strong and persevering interest in those measures which tend to meliorate the condition, and advance the honour of his countrymen.

We shall take the words of the venerable Dr Macpherson,* as expressed in his letter to

* Appendix, p. 15.

Dr Blair, accounting for the manner in which the poetry of Ossian was preserved for so many ages in the Highlands of Scotland.

" Ossian was the Homer of the ancient High-
" landers, and at the same time one of their most
" illustrious heroes. A people who held bards in
" the highest esteem, and paid withal the pro-
" foundest respect to the memory of those who
" had distinguished themselves among their an-
" cestors by military virtue, would have taken
" all possible care to preserve the works of an
" author in whom these two favourite characters,
" that of the matchless bard and that of the pa-
" triot hero, were so happily united. The poems
" of that author would have been emulously
" studied by the bards of succeeding generations,
" and committed at the same time to the memory
" of every one else who had any taste for these
" admirable compositions. They would have
" been rehearsed upon solemn occasions by these
" bards, or by these men of taste, in assemblies
" wherein the noble exploits of the most re-
" nowned chiefs, and the spirited war songs of
" the most eminent poets, made the principal
" subjects of conversation. Tradition informs
" us, that this was one of the principal pastimes
" of our forefathers at their public entertain-
" ments: and I can myself aver, that, in me-
" mory of hundreds now alive, almost every one
" of our mightiest chieftains had either a bard-
" ling, or an old man remarkably well versed in

" the poetical learning of ancient times, near his " bed every long night of the year, in order to " amuse and lull him asleep with the tales of " other days, and these mostly couched in verse. " Among the poetical tales repeated on these " occasions, the achievements of Fingal, Gaul, " Oscar, &c. or, in other words, the works of " Ossian, held the first place: nor is that old " custom, after all the changes that taste has " suffered here, entirely discontinued at this " time. When these two customs prevailed uni- " versally, or nearly so; when thousands piqued " themselves upon their acquaintance with the " works of Ossian; when men extremely poor, " superannuated, or any how rendered incapable " of earning their bread in another way, were " sure of finding kind patrons among the better " sort of people, or of being favourably received " every where, if intimately acquainted with " these works; it was hardly possible that they " could either have perished totally or have been " greatly adulterated; I mean adulterated to such " a degree as would have very much defaced their " original beauty, or have entirely destroyed their " real excellence."

The Muses delighted in mountains, groves and fountains. Parnassus was a mountain in a small territory of Greece, in which were seen the Castalian fountain, and the temple of Apollo. It rose into two summits: the one called Helicon, which was sacred to Phœbus or Apollo; the other call-

ed Cytheron, sacred to Bacchus: these were the gods of the poets. Parnassus is thus described by Lucan, lib. v. v. 71.

> " Hesperio tantum, quantum semotus Eoo
> " Cardine, Parnassus gemino petit æthera colle
> " Mons Phœbo Bromioque sacer."

The remarkable rock of the Caledonian Balcluith, now corruptly called Dunbarton, answers Lucan's description of the Parnassus of the Greeks, *gemino petit æthera colle;* it rises into two summits, the one over-topping the other. *Dun-braiduin* might be called the Parnassus of the Gael; the name is correctly descriptive of its appearance, and it is still called *Dunbraiduin* by the Highlanders, and not *Dunbriton*, erroneously supposed to be so denominated as a town of the ancient Britons. Not only were the poems of the bards, but the history of the *Senachi* (that is literally, *a person who sees* or *is skilled in antiquities*) was rehearsed upon eminences, before assemblies of the people; a proof of which remains in the term *Cnoc-an-eachtrai*, or *hillock of history*, situated in an open moor upon the north side of Lochness, six or seven hundred yards above the level of that lake. Such was the attention anciently paid to the transmission of poetry and history in the heroic ages of the Gael of Albinn.

The manner in which Ossian's compositions were preserved from age to age, is satisfactorily

explained by the testimonies of the respectable persons who corresponded with Dr Blair upon the subject, and by various other persons, whose testimonies are narrated in the Report of the Highland Society of Scotland, and confirm the account given, as matters of fact, by the Rev. Dr Macpherson.

Mr Macpherson still remained careless respecting the establishment of the authenticity of that wonderful production which he exhibited in an English dress to the public eye: the doubts formerly entertained by many were converted into a conviction of imposture by the writings of Dr Johnson. Still, however, the thickening cloud of mystery which hung over the authenticity of those poems, the translator took no means to dispel. When pressed upon the subject of publishing the originals, he pleaded want of funds to defray the expense of publication. Accounts of this impediment reached the ears of the sons of Caledonia in India. Sir John M'Gregor Murray, animated by that generous spirit which marks the character of elevated patriotism, communicated to his countrymen in India the circumstance which retarded the publication of the originals of the poems of Ossian, the most renowned heroic bard of their forefathers. A noble ardour for the preservation of the compositions of their most admired poet soon displayed itself by a contribution of a sum of £.1000, which Sir John remitted to Mr Macpherson, for the pur-

pose of removing the only obstacle which he stated to lie in the way of their publication.*

The translator now acknowledged that he was possessed of funds sufficient to defray the expense of publishing the originals in his hands; but he died, leaving those wonderful monuments of the transcendent genius of the ancient Caledonian poet, subject to those doubts and scruples, and even conviction of imposture, which he had quietly suffered during the latter years of his life to hang over them.

John Mackenzie, Esq. of the Temple, acted as secretary to the Highland Society of London: He was an enthusiastic admirer of the poems of Ossian, and a most intimate and confidential friend of Mr Macpherson, who died in February 1796, leaving Mr Mackenzie, one of his executors, a legacy of a thousand pounds, to defray the expense of preparing for the press, and publishing the original poems of Ossian. Mr Mackenzie was then entitled to take charge of the execution of his deceased friend's will, and expected to find in his repositories, not only the originals of the poems of Ossian, as prepared for the press, but also those various manuscripts which he knew

* An account of the Indian subscription, and the names of the persons upon whom that subscription has conferred immortal honour, will be found in the Appendix to Sir John Sinclair's Dissertation, published along with Dissertations of other learned men, and with the originals of the Poems of Ossian, under the sanction of the Highland Society of London, in the year 1807.

had been in his friend's possession, and which furnished the materials whence the originals, as arranged and prepared for the press, were drawn up and compiled; but, to his utter astonishment and dismay, not a single scrap of paper, relative to the poems of Ossian, was found in his friend's repositories. Mr Mackenzie's feelings upon that occasion may be more easily conceived than expressed: With mortifying regret and bitter reflection he concluded, that the sublime compositions of his enthusiastically admired ancient Caledonian poet were lost for ever, when, in despair, he cast his eye upon an old trunk in the corner of the room: though hopeless of success, he searched its contents, and then he found, among heaps of useless papers, the principal poems of Fingal and Temora, as prepared for the press; the smaller poems having been put into his possession some time previous to Mr Macpherson's death. These facts were related to the writer of these sheets, by his intimate friend, Mr Mackenzie, who wished not at the time that they should be divulged to the public.

We have unquestionable evidence of the fact, that Mr Macpherson was possessed of a great variety of manuscripts, containing the poetical compositions of Ossian.

"When he (Mr Macpherson) returned from "his tour through the Western Highlands and "Islands, he came to my house in Brae-Ba-

"denoch: I inquired the success of his journey, "and he produced several volumes, small octavo, "or rather large duodecimo, in the Gaelic lan- "guage and characters, being the poems of "Ossian and other ancient bards.

"I remember perfectly, that many of those "volumes were, at the close, said to have been "collected by Paul Macmhuirich Bard Clanrao- "nuil, and about the beginning of the 14th cen- "tury. Mr Macpherson and I were of opinion, "that though the bard collected them, yet that "they must have been writ by an ecclesiastic, "for the characters and spelling were most beau- "tiful and correct. Every poem had its first "letter of its first word most elegantly flourish- "ed and gilded; some red, some yellow, some "blue, and some green: the material writ on "seemed to be a limber, yet coarse and dark "vellum; the volumes were bound in strong "parchment.

"At that time I could read the Gaelic charac- "ters, though with difficulty, and did often "amuse myself with reading here and there in "those poems, while Mr Macpherson was em- "ployed on his translation. At times we differ- "ed as to the meaning of certain words in the "original."*

* The Rev. Mr Gallie's letter to Charles M'Intosh, Esq.—Report of the Highland Society of Scotland.

Lachlan Macpherson, of Strathmashie, writes to Dr Blair: *—"In the year 1760 I had the "pleasure of accompanying my friend Mr Mac-"pherson, during some part of his journey in "search of the poems of Ossian, through the "Highlands. I assisted him in collecting them, "*and took down from oral tradition, and trans-"cribed from old manuscripts, by far the greatest "part of those pieces he has published.*"—"*One "manuscript, in particular, was written as far "back as the year* 1410, *which I saw in Mr Mac-"pherson's possession.*"

Captain Morrison, in answer to queries transmitted to him from the Committee of the Highland Society, writes, †—"That in London he had "access to Mr Macpherson's papers; saw the "several manuscripts which he translated, in dif-"ferent hand-writings; some of them in his own "hand, some not, as they were either gathered "by himself, or sent him from his friends in the "Highlands; some of them taken from oral reci-"tation, some from MSS."—"That he saw many "MSS. in the old Gaelic character with Mr "Macpherson, containing some of the poems "translated, which MSS. they found difficult to "read."—"How old the MSS. were, cannot say; "but, from the character and spelling, seemed "very ancient."

* Report, Appendix, p. 8. † Appendix, p. 176, 177.

Mr Macpherson, in a letter dated Ruthven, 27th October 1760, to the Rev. James M'Lagan, writes;*—"You perhaps have heard that I am "employed to make a collection of the ancient "Poetry in the Gaelic. I have traversed most "of the Isles, and gathered all worth notice in "that quarter.—I intend a journey to Mull and "the coast of Argyle, to enlarge my collection." —"*I have met with a number of old manuscripts* "*in my travels;* the poetical part of them I have "endeavoured to secure." And in a second letter of Mr Macpherson to the same reverend clergyman, dated Edinburgh, 10th January 1761, he writes:—"I was favoured with your letter en- "closing the Gaelic Poems, for which I hold "myself extremely obliged to you. *Duan a* "*Ghairibh* is less poetical and more obscure than "*Teantach mor na Feine.* The last is far from "being a bad poem, were it complete; and is "particularly valuable for the ancient manners "it contains."—"*I have been lucky enough to* "*lay my hands on a pretty complete poem, and* "*truly epic, concerning Fingal.*—The antiquity "of it is easily ascertained, and it is not only "superior to any thing in that language, but "reckoned not inferior to the more polite "performances of other nations in that way." And in a third letter, dated Edinburgh, 8th February 1761, Mr Macpherson writes to the same

* Appendix, p. 153,—156.

reverend gentleman:—"I am favoured with your "last letter, *enclosing four poems*, for which I "am much obliged to you. I beg you send me "what more you can conveniently."

Dr Adam Ferguson writes to the Chairman of the Highland Society of Scotland:*—"The frag- "ments I afterwards saw in Mr Macpherson's "hands by no means appeared of recent writing; "the paper was much stained with smoke, and "daubed with Scots snuff."—"If it should still "remain a question with many, whether he col- "lected or composed these strains, I shall not be "surprised; for I believe, that what he got in "writing was unknown to those who gave it, "and the merit of what was repeated scarcely "felt; and, in short, that he himself at times "was not averse to be thought the author of "what became so much celebrated and admired "throughout Europe."

What became of those poems, which, according to Mr Gallie's description of them, had their first letters so elegantly flourished and gilded? They were written on coarse dark vellum, and bound in strong parchment, fit to last for ages. These manuscripts, apparently bedaubed with snuff, seen, with all the other manuscripts described by Mr Macpherson of Strathmashie, by Captain Morrison, by Dr Adam Ferguson, by Mr

* Appendix, p. 63, 65.

Macaulay, Mr Fraser and others, and by Mr Macpherson himself, disappeared; no trace of them could be found. What is the conclusion to be drawn from this extraordinary fact, joined with that of the careless manner in which the principal poems were thrown into an old trunk, apparently the common receptacle of papers not worthy of concern? The preservation of those wonderful poems do not seem to have been made latterly an object of that anxious solicitude, which it was to be expected the translator would have shown to save them from the lamentable fate of everlasting oblivion. "The conduct of Mac-
"pherson himself," says Sir John Sinclair, "tend-
"ed to render the subject of authenticity doubt-
"ful and mysterious. At first he seemed to have
"had no other object in view but to be consider-
"ed as the mere translator; but when the repu-
"tation of the poems was fully established, he
"felt no objection to be considered as capable of
"composing such works himself, or, at least, of
"being able to improve them. Elevated by his
"connexion with Gaelic poetry to a respectable
"rank, both in literature and society, his pride
"made him wish to believe, that he owed that
"elevation more to his own talents than to the
"genius of an old bard whom he had rescued
"from oblivion."*

* Dissertation on the authenticity of the Poems of Ossian, p. xiii.

If it was really the intention of Mr Macpherson to transmit his fame to posterity, as the author, and not the translator, of those ancient poems; and that the manuscripts in his possession had furnished no materials sufficient for establishing their authenticity as ancient Gaelic poetical compositions, he ought to have preserved those materials entire, as he collected them in manuscripts, and received them from oral tradition; because these would have incontestibly established his claim to that originality of poetical genius, which, it is evident, he was highly ambitious to acquire: But conscious that, if the various manuscripts which he had in his possession had been preserved, they would have completely afforded a solution of the question, whether he was to be considered as the author or translator of those celebrated poems,—the original manuscripts of every description were destroyed, and no vestige of them was allowed to remain as a record whence truth could be evinced, and all questionable doubts removed for ever from the subject.

Dr M'Intyre of Glenorchay, in a letter to Mr Garnett, Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, writes:* "To the mass of evidence laid "already before the public by persons of the first

* Supplemental Observations on the Authenticity of Ossian's Poems, published under the sanction of the Highland Society of London, vol. iii. p. 464.

" respectability in the nation, I know of little " that can be added. These tales we have been " accustomed to hear recited from our earliest " years, and they have made an indelible impres- " sion on my memory. In the close of the year " 1783, and beginning of 1784, I was in London. " For some time previous to that period I had " a correspondence with Mr Macpherson, but " not on subjects of Celtic literature. During " two months that I continued in London, I was " frequently with him at his own house and " elsewhere. We spoke occasionally about the " poems, and the attempts made by Dr Johnson " to discredit them. I hinted, that though my " own belief of their authenticity was unalterably " fixed, still my opinion ever was, that he had " never found the poem of Fingal in the full and " perfect form in which he had published it; but " that, having got the substance, or greater part " of the interesting tale, he had, from his know- " ledge of Celtic imagery and allusions, filled up " the chasms in the translation. He replied, " " You are much mistaken in the matter: I had " occasion to do less of that than you suppose: " And at any time that you are at leisure, and " wish to see the originals, tell me, and we will " concert a day for going to my house on Put- " ney-heath, where those papers lie, and you " will then be satisfied."

" This conversation passed in the presence of

" Dr Shaw, a Scotch physician, to whom he in-
" troduced me.

" I fully intended to avail myself of this offer,
" but have to regret, that from various avoca-
" tions, and leaving London sooner than I thought
" I could, I was prevented from a sight and per-
" usal of the originals of these poems."

Had Mr Macpherson been disposed to gratify the curiosity of any respectable number of his countrymen, who were competent judges of the execution of his work, in the same manner as he had proposed to his friend Dr M'Intyre, all doubts respecting the authenticity of the poems of Ossian would have been removed by the testimonies of such competent judges.

That Mr Macpherson collated and arranged, in a masterly manner, the materials in his hands, is a proposition which admits of little doubt. The poems of Ossian were never repeated in the order in which they are exhibited by the translator. The battles, also the poems introduced as episodes, were separately rehearsed as distinct subjects. It was allowable, however, for the translator, in order to diversify the interest of his main design, to introduce those scenes of tenderness and love, which the heroic characters were described as enjoying in the absence of warlike contests. Their admiration of those qualities and attractions which constitute female beauty, must have produced a correspondent tenderness and regard for the female character; for the

ardour of love and heroism are not only compatible, but heroic virtue and delicate sensibility are never separated in the dignified character of man.

After Mr Macpherson's death, Mr Mackenzie, his executor, prepared matters for the publication so long delayed, but he unfortunately died without accomplishing a purpose which he most ardently desired. The Indian subscription money, which had for several years remained with Mr Macpherson, fell now into the hands of his heirs, and it was only by an action at law, instituted by Sir John Macgregor Murray, that the sum of money so generously contributed was recovered out of their hands. At length the originals of the poems of Ossian, which had been assailed by so many dangers for upwards of forty years, were published under the patronage of the Highland Society of London, and now can be handed down to the latest posterity, as wonderful monuments of ancient Gaelic poetry, composed by Ossian, an illustrious Caledonian hero and poet, existing long before the introduction of Christianity among the Gael of Albinn.

A modern author,* in his learned and elegant history of Greece, writes,—"Riding on horseback "was yet little practised, though it appears not "to have been unknown. Some centuries, how-"ever, passed, before it was generally applied in

* Mr Mitford.

"Greece to military purposes; the mountainous "ruggedness of the country preventing any ex- "tensive use of cavalry, except among the Thes- "salians, whose territory was a large plain. But "in the Homeric armies no chief was without "his chariot, drawn generally by two, sometimes "by three horses; and these chariots of war "make a principal figure in Homer's engage- "ments. It seems extraordinary, that chariots "should be so extensively used in war, as we "find they were, in the early ages. In the wide "plains of Asia indeed, we may account for their "introduction, as we may give them credit for "utility. But how they should become so gene- "ral among the inhabitants of rocky mountain- "ous Greece; how the distant Britons should "arrive at that surprising perfection in the use "of them, which we find they possessed when "the Roman legions first invaded this island, es- "pecially as the Gauls and Germans are not re- "marked for that mode of fighting, is not so "easily imagined." Here it may be observed, that we have no account of the Germans having used chariots in war. The Gauls were most unquestionably acquainted with that mode of fighting.

The learned translator of Ossian's poems has exhibited, in English prose, a description of Cuchullin's car, and of the horses which were driven in it. Did the remarkable fact, respecting the Caledonians having used war-chariots in

battle, after the manner of the ancient heroes of Greece in the Trojan war, rest its credit upon the mere regard due to the veracity of the translator, those who hold the poems of Ossian to be the production of modern, not of ancient times, would be fortified in their disbelief of their genuineness, by so strange and improbable a tale; even scepticism would be banished by ridicule, and the whole fabric of the work might be considered as a disgraceful attempt to impose on the world a spurious offspring of studied fallacy of imagination, in place of a curious picture of ancient usages, manners, and mental qualities, displayed in a particular state of society, worthy of the attention of the philosopher, attractive of the admiration of men of taste and genius, and generally highly gratifying to the curiosity of science and refinement.

Truth is the pure fountain whence ingenuous minds derive supreme delight: wilful perversion of truth is a deformity that dishonours the Author of nature, pollutes the fountain of knowledge, the darling object of laudable ambition, and entails upon character reproach indelible, and obloquy everlasting.

We see no reason to doubt the possibility of handing down by oral tradition poetical compositions, from generation to generation, for a course of ages beyond even the days of Fingal and Ossian, among a people, while their manners, their occupations, and the amusements in which

they delight, experience no change by an admixture with strangers, by commercial intercourse or state policy, or other circumstances which alter their habits and extinguish the taste for the poetical compositions of their ancestors. Pastoral life is favourable to poetical effusions, affording time for storing up in memory those traditionary accounts of heroic ancestors, which furnished to the Gael at all times the most delightful amusement, and which were rehearsed in a dramatic form at festive entertainments, and, accompanied with the harp, communicated pleasures of a highly dignified nature, calculated to elevate the mind into sentiments of heroic sublimity, or inspire the soul with tenderness and love.

It may be remarked as a wonderful circumstance in the history of a people, that they have preserved in metrical composition accounts of warlike machines, which, we may venture to affirm, have not been used as such, in the island of Great Britain, from at least the times of Severus, whose historians make no mention of chariots being used by the Caledonians, when he invaded their country and lost 50,000 men before his return to the Roman provinces.

Cuchullin was distinguished for heroic valour and strength. He was esteemed the strongest man of the Fingalian tribes. The strength of Cuchullin is a proverbial expression. Fingal came, according to Mr Macpherson, to his assistance, in his war with Swaran, son of Starno; and

it appears, from the description of a scout, called in Mr Macpherson's translation *the son of Arno*, that Cuchullin approached, attended by chariots, described in the following manner: Swaran asks the scout upon his arrival:

Cea fath do thurais na do sgeul
Fath mo thurais agus mo sgeul
Feribh Erinn seud mar chimur
Tithinn thugibh as a mhaogh.

1. An carbad air am bel an dual fighara fionnduinn
Air a dhianabh gu luathmhar lamhach tacmhal
Far mo lutha agus far mo ladir
Agus far mo langhlic am pobul ūr
'S a chathair fhrasanta ranndai
Caol cruai clochara colobhui
Cether ifera chleamhor a chaomh charbad sin.

Cud a chimur 's a charbad sin
Chimur 's a charbad sin.

2. Na heich bhalgionn chalgionn chluasbheg
Shliostana bhastana eachmhor steudmhor
Le streinibh caol lainnir lumhar
Mar leig na mar chaoir theine dheirg
Mar ghluaisda chreachdai laoi alluinn
Mar fharam gaoi chruai geamhrai
Teachd thugibh ann 's a charbad sin.

Cud a chimur annsa charbad sin
Chimur 's a charbad sin.

3. Na h eich lia lu'ar stu'ar ladir
Thresmhor stuaghmhor luamhor tadhmhor
Bheiragh sparag fi fua na fairg asa caraicibh.

Cud a chimur annsa charbid sin
Chimur 's a charbad sin.

4. Na h eich bharceach tharceach thresadach
Gu stumhor lumhor duarsian
Mar spuir iolair ri gnuis ainbheach
Dha'n gioradh an liamhor mhaiseach
Mheachtroi mhor mhuirnneach.

Cud a chimur annsa charbad sin
Chimur 's a charbad sin.

5. Na h eich chinionn chroidhionn chaolchasach
Ghrinn ghruagach stobhrādach, cheannardach
S'rol-bhreidich, chliabh-fharsinn
Bheg aosda, bheg ghaosdneach, bheg chluasach
Mhorchri'ach mhor chru'ach, mhor chuimhleanach
Seangh, seadi, isiad, searachail
Briadha, beadara, baoisgeanda baoleumnach
Dhan gioradh iad an Duseimhlin.

Cud a chimur annsa charbad sin
Bhithigh na shuighe 's a charbad sin.

Laoch cuimeaseach, cumhachcach, degh-fhoclach
Libhara, loinnera demhaiseach
Tha seac meircid air a ruinn
S'ar linn gur math a fradharc dha

Bha sia meoir chnamch reamhar
Air gach lamh dhe ghualinn do
Bha siac fhuilt fhiondai air a cheann
Falt donn re tonnibh a chinn
Falt sleamhuinn dearg air uachgar
S'falt fionnabhui air dhath an oir
Sna faircill air a bhar ga chunnabhail
Dhan anaim Cuchullinn mac Semh Sualti
Mhic Ui, mhic Ai, mhic Ui eile
Tha aodann mar fritheine deirg
Luthmhar air leirg mar lua' cheach sleibhe
Na mar chruas creanda ealta airghe
Na mar mhial air mhachair mhail
Gum bu tro tric, tro luath, tro mhuirneach
Na heachibh tithinn t'orruinn
Mar sneachca ri snaithagh na sliosabh
Ospartaich agus unadhartaich
Na h eachibh gu tiunsai.

Thus Translated:

" What is the issue of thy journey, what hast thou to report? 1. The issue of my journey and my report, The men of Erinn thus I behold approaching towards you from the plains, the chariot with the carved metal axle, agile, neat, and firm; where, active and strong, and full of wisdom, are the noble people, in the nicely proportioned chariot, reflecting the sun-beams like a shower; its yellow body of fine slender shape, hard, and studded with gems; four large chested horses are driven in that beautiful chariot.

"2. What do we see in that chariot? We see in that chariot the horses white bellied, white haired, small eared, taper sided, neat hoofed, great, majestic, with their bridles pliant, slender, shining like a precious stone, or the sparkling of red fire; like the movement of a wounded fawn, like the sound of the hard blasts of winter, they approach in that chariot.

"3. What do we see in that chariot? We see in that chariot the horses fleet, hardy, strong, powerful; as waves impetuous, vigorous, exquisitely formed, able to tear the tangles of the deep from their rock-fixed roots.

"4. What do we see in that chariot? We see in that chariot the horses rank breaking, rank levelling, exceeding strong, mettlesome, nimble, prancing like an eagle's talons seizing on an animal's head; they are called the beautiful grays, the highly prized stay of the chariot.

"5. What do we see in that chariot? We see in that chariot the horses white faced, white fetlocked, slender limbed, fine maned, high breasted, head rearing, broad chested, bearing a silken flag; of little age, light of hair, little eared, great spirited, highly fashioned, of wide nostrils, slender bellied, of form nice, delicate, like foals, beautiful, lively, frisking, prancing, they are called Dusemlin.

"6. What do we see in that chariot? There sits in that chariot the hero, the skilful marksman, powerful, eloquent, polished, brightly conspicuous, eminently graceful. His eye-beam is seven-sighted; we ween good is his sight. Six great boned fingers are on each hand, that from his shoulders issue. Seven kinds of fair hair adorn his head. Brown hair covers the prominencies of his head; red sleek hair above, and yellow hair of golden colour, adjusted by rings on the top. His name is Cuchullinn, the son of Semv Sualti, the son of Ui, the son of Ai, the son of another Ui. His countenance is like the burning fire. Speedy upon the open field, like the driven clouds of the hills, or the rustling flight of a flock of birds, or as a hare on the tributary plains, very numerous, very swift, very stately, the horses are approaching towards us. As the drifting snow from the sides of the mountains, are the snorting and tossing of the horses hither directing their course."

It will be observed, that in the poetical composition describing the cars and horses of Cuchullinn, as above transcribed, there is no particular description of the car of Cuchullinn. His own personal appearance is represented, but nothing occurs in it to support the description given of Cuchullinn's car by the translator of Ossian's Poems. We find from the affidavit of

Captain John Macdonald,* " that the descrip-
" tion of the horses and chariot of Cuchullinn,
" which, so far as he recollects, he has given to
" the Rev. Mr John M'Donald, alludes to Cu-
" chullinn's own funeral, who was killed in Ire-
" land." It is evident, therefore, that there was repeated a description of the car of Cuchullinn, which must have been rehearsed by many more than Captain M'Donald, and which, it is to be presumed, furnished Mr Macpherson with the description of that car, as introduced into the first book of the poem of Fingal.†

Comhrag Fhinn agus Ghairbh mor mac Starnn.

Tha tonn a sgeursa na faraig
A's fuaim na gaoidh air benntibh Erinn
Tha mhaddinn ghlas air druim a chuain
Chi mi darach suadadh 's a bheinn

---

* Appendix to Publication of the Highland Society of London, p. ccvi.

† Two copies of the description of Cuchullinn's car and horses have been in our hands for many years back: One of them came from the island of Skye, the other from Ross-shire; and we have used no other freedom with the description got from the island of Skye, than the introduction of two lines taken from that got from the shire of Ross, though more imperfect than the other, in order to render the description more intelligible.

Fadhan! co fo nard thein ad?
Na u'i ghrian a ta air Cromleac
Leigua seuil a's sin na raimh
A's stiuir barc gu tir
Raino as Fhillean mo chlann
Seidi suas trump chogai Fhinn
Diribh meillgarbh na h' Erinn
Geabhach air sinnsira Lochlinn
Feithim tri la air an trai
Ris'a n fhir fher gharbh na etidh
Thigidh e fein a's uil al
O's neartair cardean na h' Erinn
Bhrise Raino mingheal air falbh
Mar dhealanach bheinn ri storm
As Fillean doroch bu ghoirt a fearg
Mar dhubhre faodhair air gorm
Chualas air bennibh na h' Erinn
Chualas slioc na faraig a glaodh
Mar cheud sruan mirr o'n charrig
Mar cheud charrig sios o'n ardbhenn
Dorocha ro gharbh le fiōr tharruinn
Thearinn Lochlinnich bh o'n 'ardibh
A mhacan a chomhraig fhir ghairbh
A theannart u nunn a ta thall
Tha air chrioslachd le uisg na stoirm
Thanaig u 'nise thubhairt Fionnghael
Mar dhubhre beinn 's a n fhasach
Glacamid an cairdeas do lamh
'Stu fein ard Churrais 'na an blār
San diu deanamid sasachas as tamh
A's a mareach combrag ro gharbh

Spealganid Targaid na fuaim
'N diu fein 'thubhairt Cierdhu garbh
Spealgamid Targaid na fuaim
Mareach bithi cuirm aig e fein
An garbh agus Fionn air lār
O Ossean a sgrathail sleadh
A ghuill faic do lann thubhairt Fionn
Fhillean lub 's a d'iuir crōm
Fherguis cuir gath lōm tre n speur
Truisibh n' ar sgiathan mar ghealach
Stiuribh gach sleadh calamh suas
Mar ghealbhan annsa a bhealach
'N diu la spealca na' n cnuac
O fhir ghairbh a s neartair meinn
Theid Targaitin iaruinn na smuis
Mar ghao oich an darach Morbheinn
Mar cheud sruthan mor bho n fhasach
Mar neoil a'ir mar chuan domhail
Mar lasraichibh somhricht air fraochibh
Mar sin ge farramail neo-sgrathail
Thachair naidin cath na h' Erinn
Sheinnidh gach cloguid suas
A's gach sgia cuir fuaim air a thaise
Sleadhan a briseadh na m bruise
Stratnichibh uain 'dol as
Sthrannadh gach bogha modhar truagh
As dethach lua glas na speur
Saoidhin sīnnte air talamh fuar
As gromhan an t sluai air meallabh Erinn
Truisibh gach sgia mar Ghealach
A theadhlach na fuar ghlenn thu'airt Fionn

Leani mise mar stoirm le farram
A's buani' as Escairdin na 'h Erinn
Ghluais an Ri gu neartmhor treun
Mar dhubhre air sleïtibh gaoi
Mar chrom Ossag dorcha' sa' bheinn
Theidigh e thuit iad mo thaobh
Sin far an roan combrag fùileach
Sin far an rò charrait fhuaimar
'M bas dearg lamhach guineach
As larach n'am buillin mar uamhain
B fhuileach o' b fhuileach an Ri
Nuair a lasadh a lann 's na speuir
Bhithidh Roine mar theïn na choir
A's Goll mar dhethach na neoil
Ferghus bu luaithe na ghao
Fillean mar chlaon cheathach bheann
Cha mise mar charaig na 'n dail
S b' aite leum Fionn bhi snamh sa n fhortan
Bu trom cuidtromach mo lann
S bu lionmhor corp fo lamh Ossian
Ni robh a sin mo chiabh cho glas
Ni chrithe mo cheann leis a n aois
Bha leirsinn mo shuilibh gun dol as
As o ri' mo chosin charadh.

The Battle of Fingal and the great Garve, the son of Starno.

The wave scourges the deep,
And the sound of the wind is on the mountains of Erinn.
Gray morning is upon the back of the ocean;
I see the oak moving on the hill.

Ah! who is below yon elevated fire?
Or is it the sun upon Cromleac?
Lower the sails and stretch the oars,
And steer the barks to the land.
Ryno and Fillan, my sons,
Sound the war-trump of Fingal:
Ascend the rough hills of Erinn,
Calling for the race of Lochlin.
I wait three days on the shore
For the truly fierce man in his armour:
Let him come with his whole race,
For strong are the friends of Erinn.
Fair gentle Ryno started away
Like the lightning of the mountain in a storm;
And dark Fillan, sore was thy wrath,
Like the shade of autumn upon the green field.
On the mountains of Erinn were heard
The sons of the ocean, calling aloud,
Like a hundred rapid streams from the rock,
Like a hundred rocks from the lofty mountains!
Dark, very fierce, with eager speed,
Descended the Lochlinites from the heights.
Son of strife, fierce man,
Thou hast brought hither all thy force:
Girded with the water of storms,
Thou art now come, said Fingal,
Like the shadow of a mountain in the desart;
Let us take your hand in friendship,
Thou art the great champion of battles.
To-day let us rest in peace;
To-morrow, in fierce contest,

Let us break the sounding shields.
To-morrow Garve shall have his feast,
And Fingal shall lie on earth,
O Ossian of the most dreadful spear.
Gaul, see thy sword, said Fingal;
Fillan, bend thy crooked yew;
Fergus, throw thy naked lance through heaven.
Lift your shields like the moon;
Quickly raise your spears aloft,
Like lightning in the opening of the mountains:
This is the day of splitting of skulls.
O fierce man of strong resolve,
Iron shields shall be beaten to dust.—
Like the wind of night in the oaks of Morven,
Like a hundred great streams from the desart,
Like the clouds of heaven, like the deep ocean,
Like the keen blazes of the burning heath,
So, loud sounding, undaunted,
Met the enemies in the battle of Erinn.
Each helmet clanged aloft,
Each shield re-echoing back the sound;
Spears breaking in splinters,
Green sparks of fire darting from them;
Each bow sounded mournful sad,
Swift was the gray mist of the sky:
Heroes stretched on cold earth,
And the groans of the people on the hills of Erinn.
Lift each shield like the moon,
Race of the cold vallies, said Fingal:
Follow me like a loud sounding storm,
And root out the enemies of Erinn.

The king moved in his mighty strength,
Like a cloud upon the windy hills,
Like a descending blast darkening from the mountain:
He blew; they fell by his side.
There was the bloody contest,
There was the sounding strife;
Red-handed, keen-pointed death,
And the marks of the strokes were like graves.
Bloody, bloody was the king,
When his spear lightened in the sky.
Ryno was like fire in his presence;
Gaul was like the smoke of the clouds;
Fergus was swifter than the wind;
Fillan like the descending mist of the hills.
I went like a rock to engage them;
I exulted to see Fingal borne on the tide of prosperity.
Heavy, heavy was my sword,
And many corses lay beneath the hand of Ossian.
My locks were not then so gray,
Nor trembled my head with age;
The sight of my eyes had not forsaken me,
My feet, alas! failed not then in speed.

A Portion of the last part of Fingal, Book 3.

'Sioma guth a's clarsach grinn
A chluint a fuaim a leum
Air Fionn gun d'sheinn iad 's a nard shiol

A's air gniomha laoich leis fhein
Air uaribh chluinte 's a chaomh fhuaim
Ainam Ossian shuas ga glaogh
Tric a bhuail a's thug mi buai'
An combhrag cruai na sleagh
Nise dearach daoll 's mi faoin
'S mi marri dhaoine criona
O Fhionnghael 's do shlioc stormail ard
Ni faicam gu brath an sin
Ta fiabhoc beo air d'thalmhan gorm
Bu gharbh air uair a chath
D'anam gu sith a ri nan lann
Thair cach bu triath a bha.

Translation of the above Lines.

Many a voice and nicely framed harp,
Whose sounds were heard aloud,
Of Fingal and his exalted race,
And the deeds of his heroes, sung.
In the gentle sound at times were heard
The name of Ossian re-echoing high.
I often fought, and often won,
In the hard battles of the spear;
Now blind, and tearful, and forlorn,
I walk with little men.
O Fingal! and thy high exalted race,
I now behold ye not!
The wild buck feeds on thy green mound,
Thou mighty in the hour of battle.
Peace to thy soul, king of swords,
Who bore o'er all the sovereign sway.

These fragments of the epic poem of Fingal we received from the Rev. Mr M'Iver, minister of Lochalsh, in the shire of Ross, some years before his death, which happened in the year 1790. It may be observed, that they do not altogether accord with Mr Macpherson's translation of the originals: some stanzas appear in his translation which are not found in these fragments, and others of great poetical merit are wanting in the translation, as may be easily conceived to take place respecting poetical compositions, handed down from generation to generation by oral tradition, as ably and satisfactorily explained by the learned Dr Macpherson in his letter to Dr Blair above taken notice of: But so far as the fragments express the subject of Fingal's battle with Swaran, or the fierce son of Starno, the sense and spirit of the poem is maintained with high animation, and accords with the translation as given by Mr Macpherson.

The following Poems were received by the writer of these sheets from a friend of his in the island of Skye, enclosed in a letter, in these words:—

"I would, agreeable to your commands, have "waited on Mr A. M'Aulay, to get his edition of

"Cuchullin's chariot, but he left Skye the be-
"ginning of last August.—Please now to re-
"ceive enclosed Ossian's two addresses to the
"sun, viz. at its setting and at its rising. I
"could have sent one of the addresses much
"sooner; but hearing that an old gentleman at
"Vaternish had the other, I sent to him for it,
"and, after getting it from him, I could not
"make it out, and was obliged to go and write
"it from him myself. I wish the same difficulty
"may not occur to you now, and that you may
"find the matter worth the postage. I am, &c.

"DONALD GRANT.

"*Ulinish, 1st January* 1798."

Original of the Address to the Sun, in Carricthura.

An d' fhag thu gorm astar nan speur,
A mhic gu'n bhéud is òrbhui ciabh,
Tha dorsa na hoiche dhuit fèin,
Agus pàlluinn do chlos san Iar.
Thig na stuaigh mu'n cuairt gu mall
A choimhead an fhir a's gloine gruaidh
A togail fo eagal an ceann;
Re d'fhaicinn co-àille a' d' shuain
Theich iadsa gu'n tuar o d' thaobh.
Gabhsa cadal 'n a do chòs,
A Ghrian! a's pill an tòs le aoibhneas.

Translation.

Hast thou left thy blue course in heaven,
Son without blemish, of yellow golden locks?
The doors of night are thine,
And the tent of thy region in the west.
The waves shall move slowly round
To behold him of brightest cheek,
Raising their heads with fear,
To see thy beauty in thy sound sleep.
They fled without colour from thy side.
Take thou sleep in thy cave,
O sun, and return from thy repose with joy.

Original of Ossian's Address to the Sun in Carthon.

O! thusa fein a shiubh'las shuas
Cruinn mar làn-scia chruai nan triath,
Cia as tha do dhearsa gun ghruaim,
Do sholus a ta buan a ghrian?
Thig thu ann ad' àille threìn,
A's faluichi rèil uainn an triall,
A ghealach ga dubhadh san speur
'Ga cleath fein fo stuai san iar.
Tha thusa ann a d' astar amhàin,
Co tha dana bhi na d' chòir?
Tuiti darag o'n chruaich aird,
Tuiti carn fo aois, a's scorr:

Tràighi, agus lionai 'n cuan,
Falaichear shuas an reul san speùr;
Tha thusa d'aon a chaoi fo bhuai
An aoibhneas buan do sholuis fein.
'Nuair dhubhas m'an domhan stoirm
Le torran borb, as dealan bearth',
Seallai tu as d' àille o 'n toirm
Fiamh ghàir' ort am bruaileun san speùr.
Ach dhomhsa tha do sholus faoin,
'S nach faic mi a chaoi do ghnuis,
Sgaoileadh cùil as òr-bhui ciabh
Air aghai nan nial san ear,
No 'nuair a chritheas anns an iar
Le do dhoirse ciar air lear.
'Smaith d' fheudta gum bheil thu mar mi fein,
'S an am gu treun, 'sgun fheum air am,
Ar blianai a tearna o 'n speùr
Ag siubhal le cheile gu 'n ceann.
Biodh aoibhneas ort fein a ghrian!
'S tu neartmhor, a thriath a' d' oige,
'S brònach mi-thaitneach an aois,
Mar ghealaich fhaoin san speur,
A raith fo neul air a raon,
'S an liath-cheo air thaobh nan carn,
An osag o thuath air an reth;
Fear siubhail fo bhèud, 's e mall.

Translation.

O! thou, that travellest above, round like the full-orbed hard shield of the mighty! whence are

thy beams without frown, thy light that is everlasting, O sun? Thou comest forth in thy powerful beauty, and the stars hide their course; the moon pale-orbed retires from the sky, hiding herself under a cloud in the west. Thou art in thy journey alone; who dares approach thee? The oak falls from the lofty mountain; the stony heap and the towering cliff sink under age; the ocean ebbs and flows; the moon is hid above in the sky; but thou alone art for ever victorious, continually rejoicing in thy own light. When the storm darkens round the world, with fierce thunder and piercing lightning, thou lookest in thy beauty from the noise, smiling amidst the tumult of the sky! But to me thy light is in vain, for I can never see thy countenance, whether thou spreadest thy golden locks on the face of the clouds on the east, or tremblest in the west at thy dusky gates on the ocean. But perhaps thou art like myself, at one time mighty, at another feeble; our years sliding down from the skies, hastening together to their end. Rejoice then, O sun! while thou art strong in thy youth. Sad and unpleasant is old age, like the vain light of the moon in the sky, when she looks from the clouds on the field, and grey mist is on the side of the hill; the blast from the north on the plain, and the traveller distressed and slow."

The address to the sun in Carthon, it has been said by those who discredit the authenticity of

Ossian's poems, is but an imitation of the address to the sun in Milton's Paradise Lost, and is a mere forgery, committed by the pretended translator of those poems. The facts respecting this address to the sun, are worthy of particular attention. On the margin of a copy of the first edition of Mr Macpherson's translation of Ossian, which had been left at his Highland place of residence, and found there by the Rev. Mr Anderson, one of his executors, there is written in Mr Macpherson's hand-writing, "*Delivered all "that could be found of Carthon to Mr John "Mackenzie.*"* It appears, that some parts of the original of Carthon, and particularly the address to the setting sun, could not be found, therefore it is wanting in the publication of the originals of Ossian's poems, executed under the patronage of the Highland Society of London. The original of this address, as in the hands of the translator, was preserved by Captain Alexander Morrison, who was a good Gaelic scholar, and had assisted Mr Macpherson in translating the originals collected by him in the Highlands. The manner in which he got this address is stated by himself, in his answers to queries transmitted to him from the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, respecting Ossian's, and other ancient poems. His words are: "That

* Late Secretary to the Highland Society of London, and one of Mr Macpherson's executors.

" he got the address among Mr James Macpher-
" son's original papers, when he was transcribing
" fairly for him, from these original papers,
" (either collected by himself, or transmitted by
" his Highland friends), as it stood in the poem
" of Carthon, afterwards translated and publish-
" ed."—" That he gave the Rev. Mr Mac Kinnon
" of Glendaruel, before he went last time to
" America, in the year 1780, Ossian's address to
" the sun in the original, which being transmit-
" ted by Lord Bannatyne, and presented, he
" identifies: That he can repeat the whole of
" the poems given Mr Mac Kinnon; and gave
" a copy of it in writing."—" That there are
" many other such poems, which Mr Macpher-
" son did not collect, and collected some which
" he did not translate, but made his choice with
" proper taste. That the address to the sun, in
" the poem of Carthon, wanted two lines in the
" original, which neither Mr Macpherson, nor
" any body else, could supply, nay, supply *any*
" *thing like them.*"* Whether Mr Macpherson could supply two lines, which might pass for original, we will not take it upon us to say; but, from the testimony of Captain Morrison, he paid such punctilious regard to the original as he received it, that he did not shew any disposition

* Appendix, p. 175, 176, 177. Report of the Highland Society.

to foist in any matter of his own. If, as is alleged, he was the author of the whole fabric of such wonderful compositions, why hesitate to supply two lines in which the poem appeared to be deficient?

It has been said, that this copy of the address to the sun might have been handed about, and might have got into the possession of a variety of persons in the Highlands; and that it afforded no proof of the poem being an original poetical composition, known as such in that country.

The following letter, written by the Rev. Mr M'Diarmid, will afford a sufficient answer to any doubts entertained on that subject.

"*Weem, April* 9. 1801.

"Enclosed you have a translation of the Gaelic "pieces which I sent you last week. It is as "literal as possible. I made it so on purpose, "without any regard to the English idiom, that "you might understand the original the better. "Every one knows at what disadvantage a tran- "slation of this kind must appear from one "language into another; but more especially "when the idioms and genius of the two lan- "guages differ so widely as those of the Gaelic "and English. As I have not a copy of Mr "Macpherson's translation by me, I could not "compare it with the original, nor point out "wherein he has departed from it: Mr Mackenzie

" will easily see that, by comparing his transla-
" tion with mine. *I got the copy of these poems,*
" *about thirty years ago, from an old man in Glen-*
" *lyon.* I took it, and several other fragments,
" now I fear irrecoverably lost, from the man's
" mouth. *He had learnt them in his youth* from
" people in the same glen, which must have been
" long before Macpherson was born. I had at
" one time a considerable number of old poems,
" some of them part of what Macpherson has
" translated; but, by lending them from hand to
" hand, I cannot now possibly trace them out.
" The truth is, I lost in a great degree that en-
" thusiasm which I was very early possessed
" with, when I went into Angus-shire, with a
" view to settle there for life. At that time I
" gave away most of the pieces I had collected."*

By comparing Captain Morrison's and Mr M'Diarmid's copies of the address to the rising sun with one another, they are found not to differ materially. Words occur in lines 7, 14, 26, 33, 34, 35, of Captain Morrison's copy, which are different in Mr M'Diarmid's copy; but the sense and meaning of both are significant of the same ideas.

With respect to the copies of the addresses to the sun at his setting and rising, as received from Mr Donald Grant, they do not precisely corres-

* Report of the Highland Society of Scotland, p. 71.

pond with the copies either of Captain Morrison or of Mr M'Diarmid. The address to the setting sun, as sent by Mr Grant, wants one line of Captain Morrison's copy. And in place of these lines in his copy of the address to the rising sun,

" Smaith dh'eudta gum bheil u mar mi fein
'S an am gu treun, 's gun fheim air àm
Ar blianai a tearnnadh o 'n speur
Aig siubhal le cheile gu 'n ceann."

Translated,

" Perhaps thou art like myself, at one time mighty, at another feeble; our years sliding down from the skies, moving together to their end;"—

These lines occur in Mr Grant's copy:

" Ach dh fheidagh gur cosmhail 'u ri Ossian fad re
Tha aig do bhlianachin ceann crich
'S caidli tu na do neoil fhein
Gun churum do ghu na maidnea."

" Perhaps thou art like Ossian for a time;
Thy years have an utmost limit,
And thou shalt sleep in thy own clouds
Careless of the voice of the morning."

A few words occur different from Captain Morrison's copy, but they are immaterial. But it is impossible that the one can be considered as a copy of the other.

A poem called *Bas Dhiarmid*, or *The Death of Dermid*, was, till of late, well known in the Highlands. As handed down it is extremely fabulous and inconsistent, and can lay no claim to poetical merit. However corrupted in all the editions we have heard repeated, it is expressed that both Dermid and Grana died in the hunting ground where the boar of Bengulbin was killed by Dermid, and that both were buried hard by one another. It bears genuine intrinsic marks of a remote antiquity. It makes mention of the Druids, and intimates their prescience of future events: it mentions the elk, an animal not known in Britain for many ages. The poem terminates with an eulogy by Fingal on Dermid, which, as it is ascribed to Ossian, we deem it worthy of being recorded.

Chideadh sid agai fo chreuc
Mac o Duin a's geug na'n cleac
Sar mharcach fuilteach nam Fiann
Air an tulach siar fo thart.

An tulach ga bu taobh uain
Ri am dhuinn thighinn ga coir
Bu dearg i'n roir fad aon tra
Le fuil a churri bu bhinn gloir.

Thialaig iad a sin 's an tulach
Le athair na muica fiadhan
Grainne deas ighin Cuchullinn
A's a dha chu gheala marri Diarmid.

Dreach an tsuinnaich air an raon
Mac o Duine air a thaobh feall
Boileum do thinigh re taobh an tuirc
Fo thulachan nan cnoc ad thall.

Mac o Duine bu mhor am beud
Tha thuitim le ead mo mhna
Bu ghil a braghad na ghrian
Bu deirg a beul na bla chro.

Commumn air a mealtadh ben
As mac o Duine a b'fhear buai
San t' shiridh tha trog e suil
Bho na chai uir air a ghruai.

An iumard edi' agus each
Ann n eagin chleas nach fann
An lamh o m b'fhear enach a's adh
Ochan mar tha an tsaoi sa ghlenn.

Glenn sith an glenn seo tha ri m' thaobh
Far'mbu lionmhoir guth fei' as loin
Glenn an tric an robh an Fhiann
An er 's an iar an dei' nan con.

An glenn sin fos Beinn Gulbinn ghuirm
'S alle' tulachan tha fo n' ghrean

Is tric a bha na sruthan dearg
An dei' na Fiann bhi sealg an fhei'.

La an diu gad tha mi truadh
Bha mi uair nach robh mi faoin
Gun esai dhaoin orm na nich
Faic si saoghal musench a's chī.

Which may be thus translated:

"Now were seen in their wounds the son of O Duin, the excellent, the bloody horseman of Fingal's people, and the lovely branch of the twining locks, extended on the hill beneath the sun at noon. That hill which, when we approached it, we beheld green, red was its hue for one division of time, with the blood of the hero of the musical voice. With the father of the wild sow, they buried on the hill beautiful Grana, the daughter of Cuchullin, and his two white dogs along with Dermid. The hue* of blood covers the field. The son of Duin on the farther side. I grieve that thou art laid by the side of the boar, under the sloping banks of yonder hillocks. Son of O Duin, great is the misfortune that thou hast fallen by the jealousy of my wife: Her breast was fairer than the sun, her lips were redder than crimson blossoms. A community deceived by a woman; and the son of

* Literally, *the hue of the fox.*

Duin of victorious renown, in the hunting ground will not raise his eye, for his brow is covered with earth. Expert in the management of horse and armour, strong in the hard pressure of battle, the hand from which bounty and kindness flowed the most gracefully: alas! how the hero lies in the valley. The lonely valley, the valley now by my side, the valley where oft were seen the people of Fingal following their dogs. The valley below the green mountain of Bengulbin, whose little hillocks are the most beautiful under the sun; often were her streams red, after the people of Fingal had been hunting the deer.

"This day though I am sad, there was a time when I was not forlorn; in want neither of men nor things. You see, and will see the world changeable."

Ossian lived to a great age, was the last of his race, and died blind. *Ossian an dei' na Fiannabh*, is a phrase in the mouth of every body.

Several circumstances expressed in these lines point out their antiquity. We see features of manners which place the actors in the age of hunters: Grana, though a female, attended the chase. The manner of her death cannot be learned from the poem: That it was coincident with the death of Dermid, the poem bears express testimony. It is curious to observe, that she was buried along-side of the boar which Dermid had killed, and that Dermid's two white dogs

were laid down with him in his grave. These are facts which refer to a remote antiquity. The doctrines of Christianity had certainly not reached or influenced the manners or customs of the Fingalian tribes. The dogs were laid down with Dermid, consistently with the notion entertained by the ancient Gael, of their employment in *Flathinnis*, the *Happy Island* or *Heaven*, whither their spirits repaired after death. The poem affords room for the conjecture, that Grana had killed Dermid, probably with an arrow; his blood stained the field, though he vanquished the wild boar without receiving any hurt. Grana was in love with Dermid; her pride was piqued at his want of respect for her partiality, and his deficiency in making a suitable return. Fingal says in plain language, that Dermid fell by the jealousy of his wife.

This state of manners excludes not the passion of love. It has room to display itself in all its various shapes and appearances; and, however exquisitely pleasing are its charms while it lives in the pure flame of its native existence, when thwarted, or violently obstructed, like combustibles in the bosom of the earth, it often breaks forth with the most vehement commotions; its beauteous form is torn asunder, and despoiled of its enchantments; it exhibits the wild convulsions of jarring elements, roused by malignant spirits. To the ungovernable rage of this un-

happy passion is to be ascribed the death of the Fingalian hero.

It is handed down by tradition, that Grana, seeing Dermid dead, had laid herself down upon his lifeless corpse, and having a deadly weapon in her hand, she pointed it in such a manner, that in the act of laying herself down it penetrated her body, and caused her death.

A gentleman of highly respectable abilities as an author, critic, and scholar,* has published an edition of Mr Macpherson's translation of the Poems of Ossian, with a view to discredit their authenticity, and to hold them out to the literary world as an impudent and palpable forgery. It must be admitted, that Mr Macpherson's conduct had given too much room for the suspicions and doubts which have been entertained respecting the authenticity of those poems, and for that conviction which appears to have been impressed upon the minds of many men of science and literary accomplishments, that they were the compositions of the pretended translator himself, who ought to be considered in no other light than as a daring impostor, worthy of no degree of credit.

Ingenuous minds must ever be at variance

* Malcolm Laing, Esq.

with fraud and deceit, and society is interested in the detection of falsehood and deception. The friend of truth merits at all times respectful attention; and we are satisfied that the criticisms issuing from the pen of the learned editor, proceeded from no other source, than the laudable purpose of exposing disgraceful fallacy and ignominious imposition.

The originals of the Poems of Ossian had not made their appearance in public when the ingenious criticisms of the learned editor came forth to public view: it was therefore impossible to determine, however successfully the language and sentiments of the translator were chargeable with imitation and plagiarism, whether the criticisms so ingeniously employed could apply to those poetical compositions, which alone, in a just sense, could furnish the fair subject of controversy.

The Gaelic originals having been published, accompanied with a literal Latin version, by an excellent scholar, Mr M'Farlan of London, every Gaelic and Latin scholar has it now in his power to compare the translation with the originals, and to determine how far the translator has succeeded in exhibiting, in an English dress, those Gaelic poems avowed to be the poetical compositions of an ancient Caledonian poet, living in an age far removed from those elegant improvements which characterize periods of polish and refinement. It is not our

intention to enter largely into a discussion of the evidence adduced to prove the authenticity of the poems of Ossian: those who wish to obtain information upon that subject, will find ample materials in the publications of the Highland Societies of Scotland and of London. We shall only take notice, that Mr Macpherson, in his translation of those poems, has used freedoms with the originals, which in some measure renders them, it may be truly admitted, his own composition. His language, when applied to the originals, is in a high degree loose and paraphrastical, and seldom adheres to that beautiful simplicity of thought and imagery, which furnish internal evidence of an heroic age, which alone could produce them. We have paid attention to the learned editor's criticisms, but in no instance do they appear, in our apprehension, to apply to the Gaelic originals. We shall take the liberty to notice some of those ingenious criticisms.

"I beheld their chief," says Moran, "tall as a "glittering rock." *These are the words of the translator.*

Criticism, p. 9.—"Tall as a glittering rock," "Tall as a rock of ice," in the first edition, from "Pope's *Temple of Fame:*

"*High* on a *rock of ice* the structure lay,
Steep its ascent, and slippery was the way."

And even the alteration, " Tall as a glittering " rock," is taken from a simile that follows a few " lines afterwards, in the same poem:

" So Zembla's *rocks*, the beauteous work of frost,
Rise white in air, and *glitter* o'er the coast."

Now let us take the words of Ossian:—

" Chunnaic mi 'n ceannard, thuirt Moran;
Coimeas do 'n charraig an triath."

Latin Version.

" Vidi ego eorum ducem, dixit Moran;
Est similis rupi princeps."

" I saw their leader, said Moran;
Like a rock was the chief."

The words of Pope's Temple of Fame are totally inapplicable. The epithet *glittering*, which gave occasion to the criticism, is the translator's amplification, unauthorized by the original.

Translation.—" His spear is a blasted pine; his " shield, the rising moon."

Criticism.—" His *spear*, to equal which the tallest *pine*,
Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
Of some great ammiral."
————" His ponderous shield
Hung on his shoulders, like the *moon*, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening,"—

" when the moon rises; and, in converting Satan
" into Swaran, it was only necessary to suppress
" those images that are derived from the sciences,
" or from the arts of civilized life."

What are the simple words of Ossian?

" A shleagh mar ghiubhas air scor-bheinn
Mar ghealach aig eiri' a sgia."

Latin version.

" Est hasta instar pini in jugo montis
Instar lunæ surgentis ejus clypeus."

Ossian.

" His spear is like a fir (tree) upon the rocky summit of a mountain;
Like the moon rising was his shield."

These are natural simple images, not derived from the authority of Milton.

Criticism, p. 11.—" Rocks fell *from their place*, " rivulets, *changing their course*, fled murmuring " *from our side*." Virgil, Æn. viii. 239.

" Dissultant ripæ, refluitque exterritus amnis."

" Imitated in Macpherson's Ode on the Earl " Mareschal's return."

" When from their native rocks *the frighted springs retire*."

Ossian.

" Thuit coille fo chomhrag nach geilleadh
Thionndaidh sruith, 's chrionaich an carnn."

Latin version.

" Cecidit sylva sub conflictu, qui non cedebat;
Verterunt se rivi, et tremuit saxea mole."

Literally.

" Wood fell under the unyielding conflict,
Streams turned aside, and the cairn shook."

Compare these simple words with the translator's amplified unauthorized description. We see no rocks falling from their place, nor rivulets flying, murmuring, from the side of the combatants. Virgil's *refluitque exterritus amnis* may in some measure apply to the translation, but are totally inapplicable to the simple description in the original.

Criticism, p. 15.—" Or yield green Erin to Lochlin."

" Ireland, so called from a colony that settled " there called *Falans*. *Innisfail, the island of the* " *Fail* or *Falans*."—MACPHERSON.

" Or yield green *Innisfail*," in the first edition, " and these capricious alterations, which have " rendered the notes so frequently irreconcileable " with the text, are a proof that the supposed " translator had no prototype to adhere to."

Ireland was often called *Innisfail;* but it was not so called from any colony, for *fal* signifies *a prince. Innis* is applicable to *small islands,* and not so properly to Ireland. *Innisfail* signifies *the island of princes,* and might have been applied to any favourite island that was made even a transitory residence of men of renown. The words in the original are:

"No 'm fag sinn Erinn dha 'n daimbh."

"Or shall we leave Erin to strangers."

Lochlin does not here occur in the original, but the translator used the word Lochlin to express the *strangers* of the original. From this venial liberty it cannot be justly inferred, that there was no prototype.

Mr Macpherson's *Translation.*

"Rise, ye dark winds of Erin, rise! roar, whirl-
"winds of Lara of hinds! *Amid the* tempest *let*
"*me die,* torn in a cloud by angry ghosts of men:
"Amid the tempest let Calmar die, if ever chace
"was sport to him so much as the battle of
"shields."

Upon this passage the following criticism is made:—

Criticism, p. 17.—"*Amidst the* tempest *let me*
"*die, torn in a cloud by angry ghosts of men.*"

" While we, perhaps,
Designing, or exhorting glorious war,
Caught in a fiery *tempest*, shall be hurled,
Each *on his rock transfixed*, the *sport* and *prey*
Of *wracking whirlwinds*." Par. Lost, ii. 185.

" The introductory incidents are all from Mil-
" ton. Cuthullin summons his troops, musters
" them on the heath, and calls a council of war,
" like Satan; and the speeches of Connal and
" Calmar are obviously in imitation of those of
" Belial and Moloch, for peace or war. " We,"
" says Belial, " caught in a fiery *tempest*, shall
" be hurled, each *on his rock transfixed*, the *sport*
" and *prey* of *wracking whirlwinds*." " Roar,
" *whirlwinds* of Lara of hinds," says Calmar in
" return, " amidst the *tempest* let me die," trans-
" fixed on a rock, or, " torn in a cloud by angry
" ghosts of men;" the *sport* and *prey* of wrack-
" ing whirlwinds, " if ever *chase* was *sport* to me
" like the battle of shields." Here, not only the
" transposition of images, (the *sport* and *prey*, if
" ever *chase* was *sport* to me), but the author's
" peculiar mythology, is observable, in convert-
" ing the wracking whirlwinds into ghosts of
" angry men."

Original.

" Eireadh gao' Erinn gu h ard
Cromadh an du' Ossag shuas
Tuiteam le tannuis gu bas

Nan leanuinn am fiadh cho luath
Ri teas chombrag chruai nan lot."

Literal Translation.

" Let the winds of Erin rise on high;
Let the dark blast descend from above;
Let me fall with ghosts to death;
Should I follow the deer with such speed
As the hot hard contest of wounds."

Neither Milton's fury, tempest, nor wracking whirlwinds, nor Macpherson's dark winds of Erin, nor the roaring whirlwinds of Lara, not torn in a cloud by angry ghosts of men, are to be found in the pure, the simple, and chaste poetry of Ossian.

Criticism, p. 19.—" *When it moves on the plains* " *of autumn, bearing the death of thousands along.*" " A concealed imitation of Homer's Dog-star, " Iliad, xxii. 26. " Bright he *strode* along the " *plain*, like the star, which in autumn ascends— " *pouring* heat and fell disease on the *nations* of " *hapless men.*" MACPHERSON's *Homer*, ii. 328. " And, to conceal the imitation, Achilles, rush- " ing along the *plain*, like the dog-star that rises " in *autumn*, is converted into the mist of marshy " Lano, " when it sails over the *plains of autumn*, " bringing death to the people." First Edit.

In order to shew the unpardonable liberties the translator has taken with the originals of Ossian, we shall quote a few lines of them preceding the words taken notice of by the learned critic.

" A Chuchullinn tha ceithir clachan
" Air Cathbaid taisgte san uaigh
" Chuir mo lamhsa sios fo uir
" Du'chomar bu ghruamach snuagh
" Bha thusa, Chathbaid, mhic Arminn
" Mar ghrein a dearradh 'sa bheinn
" A's thusa, Dhu'chomair na 'n garbh-bheum
" Mar cho'-thional uisge na'n speur."

Translation by Mr Macpherson.

" Four stones," replied the chief, " rise on the grave of Cathba. These hands have laid in earth Duchomar, that cloud in war. Cathba, son of Torman! thou wert a sun-beam in Erin; and thou, O valiant Duchomar! a mist of the marshy Lano, when it moves on the plains of Autumn, bearing the death of thousands along."

The literal Translation runs in these words.

Cuchullin, there are four stones upon Cathbaid shut up in the grave. My hands have laid down in the earth Duchomar of most gloomy hue. Thou Cathbaid, son of Armin, wast like the sun beaming in the mountain; and thou Ducho-

mar of rough strokes, was like the gathering of water in the sky.—

There is no word of the mist of the marshy Lano, when it moves on the plains of Autumn, bearing the death of thousands along.

There are many such criticisms, which may apply to the translation, but we have met with none that can in any just sense shake the credit of the originals. To pursue further this subject would lead us far beyond the limits of our intended observations upon the subject of the authenticity of the Poems of Ossian. It is to be hoped, that the Highland Societies of Scotland and of London, will use proper means for giving to the public a literal translation of those wonderful ancient compositions, in a manner which will convey the lofty spirit and beautiful simplicity of the originals, to those who do not understand the language in which the effusions of the poet were first communicated to his admiring countrymen.

THE END.

Printed by Walker and Greig,
Edinburgh.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

This book is under no circumstances to be taken from the Building